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The life of St. Chrysostom

THE LIFE
OF
ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN OF
DR. NEANDER,
PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF BERLIN, &c.

BY
THE REV. J. C. STAPLETON, M.A. F.L.S. &c.
RECTOR OF TEVERSAL, NOTTS.

“ And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three ; but the greatest of these is charity.”
1 Cor. xiii. 13.

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DEDICATION.

MY DEAR CARNARVON,

I have been induced, by a near and valued Friend, to attempt a translation of the Life of St. Chrysostom by Dr. Neander. To the history of that life the most enduring interest must ever attach, from the mighty struggle, which then prevailed in its full force, between the Christian and the Heathen world, and from the comparative proximity of the time in which this Holy Father lived, to the awful and still more important epoch of our Saviour's death. The sound practical religion professed and rigidly adhered to by this great Reformer of the corrupted morals of his age, his love of Christ, and obedience to his commands, the holiness of his life, while in the exercise of high power, and amidst the most stormy political changes, invested him with a character of the deepest sanctity in the eyes of his fellow-countrymen, and made him an object of mingled reverence and admiration.

It is indeed obvious, from the Scriptural language which pervades his writings, that he was not only well acquainted with the Bible, but had drunk deeply from that only fountain of real inspiration.

The historical personages to whom he refers, and the customs of his time, strikingly depicted as they are in his Homilies, cannot be devoid of interest to our own later and inquiring generation; while the opinions and practices, upon which he

DEDICATION.

comments with Christian courage, as prejudicially affecting the morals of his day, shew, that, however varied the modes of developement, the natural corruption of the human heart, and the main springs of human actions are the same in every age.

With a very few exceptions, I have translated the quotations from St. Chrysostom from the Greek, and have sometimes ventured to make additional extracts, not unfrequently with the sole view of rendering a quotation continuous.

These pages relate to matters which have deeply engaged your mind, are practically exhibited in your daily life, and have often been the subject of our discourse. Allow me, therefore, to dedicate them to you as a slight acknowledgment of the constant and unvaried affection, which you have shewn me as well in the day of sorrow as of joy. You will I know, excuse their imperfections,—the master-mind is ever the most lenient in judging the deficiencies of others. But there is a still stronger reason why these pages should be dedicated to you. Many of them were listened to and approved by your Beloved Sister, whom it has pleased God to take from us unto Himself; and in my affliction I have drawn support from the prosecution of a design, which had her approval. Accept then, my dear Carnarvon, this poor tribute from a mourning brother, and, upholden by the hope, that after the accomplishment of our pilgrimage through this valley of tears, we shall rejoin the Beloved One in the Realms of Eternal Love, and Joy, and Peace, believe me always,

Yours, affectionately,

J. C. STAPLETON.

May 28, 1838.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

THE work, which I now offer to the public, is formed upon the same plan, as the Ecclesiastical Lives which I formerly published. The Biographies of the two great Fathers, Augustin and Chrysostom, the former of whom may be said to resemble St. John, the latter St. Paul, afford matter of peculiar interest, enhanced by the circumstances of the age in which they lived. Of these two histories, I have selected the latter, while I willingly resign the former to my beloved friend, Professor Twesten, of Kiel. Although I have undertaken the easier task, I have found it difficult to keep within due limits, and not be led into too wide a field by the richness of the subject. Truly, none of the ancient Fathers have laid down so many truths of practical importance, and equally suited to all ages, as Chrysostom; and to this point I shall endeavour to call the especial attention of my readers.

In the Second Volume which I hope soon to publish, I shall endeavour to shew the peculiar character of his ministry at Constantinople, relate his arduous struggles in that city, and detail those sufferings, in which the greatness of the Christian hero was subsequently manifested. I shall then subjoin treatises upon his exposition of the Bible, his doctrine, and his ethics; upon the theological views of the Antiochian school generally, and especially upon his own; and finally, upon the relation, which they bore to

other theological opinions of that period. I will therefore request my readers to suspend their judgment upon many points in this volume, and await the promised disquisitions.

I will lastly observe, that I cannot agree with the learned observations of Professor Hasselbach, prefatory to his translation of the Work of Chrysostom upon the Priesthood, or depart from the ordinary views concerning the origin of that book. It can hardly be supposed, that Chrysostom could have invented a form of embodiment for his dialogue, no example of the kind being to be found in the church of that period. The violation of the Ecclesiastical Laws in this instance, with regard to age, will be less remarkable, when we consider how seldom they were observed in those times,—which appears from the frequency with which the same law was enjoined by the Councils. Gregory Nazianzen even ventures to number the law passed by the council of Nice (Can. XV.) against the translation of Bishops among the obsolete laws, the *παλαι τεθνηκοτας νομους*. Moreover, many peculiar circumstances unknown to us, amidst the troubles of the Eastern church, in the reign of the Emperor Valens and during the Arian controversies, might have occasioned the above violation.

NEANDER.

Berlin, 5th May, 1820.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

I HAVE long intended to prepare a Second Edition of this work, which has for many years been out of print. But, as it had met with a favourable reception, I was reluctant, that it should be reprinted in its former state, and was desirous to perfect it as much as possible, both in its contents and form. My professional duties and labours upon my History of the Church left me, however, neither time nor strength for this purpose; and the accomplishment of my intention was thus delayed. And now, indeed, I have not been able to mould the whole as I desired; but since this book contributes to give a portrait of Chrysostom, and to put much that is valuable of his works into general circulation, I could not forego my intention; and I have improved it as much as I possibly could, consistently with my other labours. The number of notes, of which the matter ought to have been worked into the body of the narrative, was always a defect. I have therefore inserted some of them in the main text, distributed others in an Appendix, and, for convenient use, have placed a few in the pages to which they belonged. I have also made many considerable additions and alterations.

NEANDER.

Berlin, Feb. 22, 1832.

THE LIFE OF ST. CHRYSOSTOM.

FIRST PERIOD.

FROM HIS EARLIEST EDUCATION TO HIS ENTRANCE UPON THE OFFICE OF PRESBYTER.
A. D. 347—386.

JOHN, surnamed Chrysostom on account of his eloquence, was born at Antioch, about A. D. 347. On his mother's side, he was descended from a wealthy and distinguished family. His father, Secundus, held an important situation in the staff of the Chief Military Governor of the eastern provinces of the Roman empire.¹ The place of his nativity was one of the four great capitals of the civilized world, or of the Roman empire,² inferior only to Old and New Rome,³ and of equal rank with Alexandria; the head and mother, as Chrysostom himself designates her, of all Roman Asia;⁴ favoured by nature and by art, the seat of institutions devoted to science, and the resort of men from all quarters of the globe.⁵

¹ Magister militum orientis.

² της οἰκουμένης.

³ Constantinople.

⁴ Hom. de Statius or ad populum Antiochen. III. § 1. πόλεων τῶν ὑπο τὴν ἑὴν κείμενων κεφαλὴ καὶ μητὴρ. The city contained according to Chrysostom, two hundred thousand inhabitants. Hom. in Ignat. § 4. ed. Montafacon, vol. II. p. 597.

⁵ "They came hither," says Libanius in his Antiochicus, which contains a very descriptive panegyrick of this city,

But there was much iniquity in a city where the wealth and oriental pomp of the great,¹ the poverty and idleness of men met together from different countries, the luxuriance of nature, and a climate which stimulated the passions, contributed to promote every species of crime. Thus was Antioch, like other great cities, a centre of moral corruption,² where the rising youth, whose education in those times was much neglected, were particularly exposed to the contagion of vice.

In these great capitals the female part of the community, although not entirely free from a love of amusement and show, often formed a sanctuary

“partly to enjoy the beautiful climate, partly from a love of luxury, partly to carry on commerce, or in any way to enrich themselves.” “Every one,” says he, “may find countrymen among us. He who sitteth down in our market place may learn the manners of all cities.” He names p. 333, Antioch and Athens, as the two principal cities, between which all the riches of the Greeks were in his time divided; the one the seat of literature for Europe, the other for Asia.

¹ Chrysostom represents both this wealth and pomp in different passages of his sermons delivered at Antioch. For example, Hom. Matt. LXIII. § 4. “Thou indeed countest so many acres of land; ten, twenty, or more houses; as many baths; one or two thousand servants; and chariots, covered with silver and gold.” The slaves of the principal Antiochians were covered with gold; even their beds were of ivory, inlaid with silver and gold. Vid. Hom. 1 Cor. XXI. § 6. and Concio 1. de Lazaro, § 7. He says, Hom. Matt. LXVI. § 3. ‘The rich form one tenth part of the citizens, and the poor, who have nothing, another tenth. The remainder are of the middle class.’

² Chrysostom says, Hom. Act. Ap. XXXVII. § 2. “It is not strange, that in the greater cities the people should be more depraved. Indeed it is natural, that it should be thus, where the occasions of temptation are more frequent. For so in the human body the disease is more violent, the more matter and food it have to nourish it. I have translated this passage according to what I conceived to be a necessary alteration: “καθ'απερ γαρ εν σωματι η νοσος χαλεπωτερα, όταν πλειονα εχει την υλην.”

for Christianity; and there were among the higher classes, not only persons given up to the pursuits of vanity, but women, whose hearts were deeply penetrated by the truths of the Gospel. The heathen were well aware, that by means of these women Christianity was maintained in families, and they inveighed against the influence, which they exercised over the minds of their husbands. The heathen Rhetorician Libanius reproached the Antiochians of rank, because they suffered themselves to be governed by those whom they ought to govern; and he asked them, why they did not profess the religion of Plato and of Pythagoras, instead of appealing to the authority of their mothers and their wives?¹ And, thus it often happened, that while fathers, eager after wealth, distinction, and pleasure, either entirely neglected the education of their children, or regarded with indifference their religious and moral acquirements,² Christian mothers animated by the spirit of the Gospel sacrificed the ruling passions of their sex to a life of retirement within the bosom of their families; meritoriously exerted themselves in the education of their sons, and anxiously sought by the aid of religion to guard their tender years from the contamination of surrounding vice. Many of the holy men who illumined the church during that age would not have acquired their high distinction, if pious mothers had not implanted in their opening minds the first seeds of that religion, which influenced the whole of their subsequent lives. We allude to the influence, which such women, as the

¹, Vid. Liban. ed. Reiske, vol. i. p. 502.

², Read the complaints of Libanius concerning those fathers, who either paid no attention to the bad lives of their children, or went so far as to praise them on that account, and encourage them in their evil ways. Liban. vol. III. p. 443.

mother of Theodoret; Monica, the mother of Augustin; and Nonna, the mother of Gregory Nazianzen, exercised upon the religious education of their sons; a remarkable feature in the history of the great fathers of the early church.

This last observation applies to Chrysostom; for to his mother Anthusa, he owed the first Christian impulse, which his mind received. Induced by a tender recollection of her husband, whom she lost soon after the birth of Chrysostom, and by anxiety for the education of her son, to which sole object she devoted her life, she remained a widow from her twentieth year. Affectionate fidelity to a departed husband was a quality held in much esteem among the Christians; even Libanius, the celebrated teacher of eloquence and literature at Antioch, who would not willingly have paid a tribute of praise to Christian virtue, exclaimed, when speaking of Anthusa: "what wives the Christians have!"¹

Anthusa followed not the example of most parents among the higher ranks of society, who caused their sons to be slightly instructed in Latin and civil law,² the surest method in those

¹ Chrysostom relates in his treatise, *Ad viduam juniorem*, Vol. I. § 2. respecting his childhood, that when he was brought to the Sophist, to whom his education was to be entrusted, he was asked by him, as was customary, who he was? And "having heard, that I was the son of a widow, he asked me the age of my mother, and the time of her widowhood? But when I said that she was forty years old, and that it was twenty years since she lost my father, he was astonished, and turning to those present, he cried out with a loud voice, 'Oh strange! what wives the Christians have!' As Chrysostom was the scholar of Libanius, and he calls the person, of whom there is here question, *παντων ανδρων δεισιδαιμονωστερος*, i. e. one above all others devoted with blind superstition to heathenism,—a character very applicable to Libanius,—it is highly probable, that this story relates to him.

² See the complaints of Libanius upon the neglect of edu-

times of attaining to high and lucrative offices ; but she endeavoured to secure Chrysostom a superior education, that he might select his path of life wisely and with a mind unfettered by prejudice. Neither did she imitate those pious mothers, who consecrated their sons from infancy to the Ecclesiastical or Monastic state ; for women, who after a long period of anxious hope, were at length blessed with a son, were frequently wont to hasten with the child to the altar, and placing in its hands the book of the gospels, to dedicate his life to the service of the church. Without doubt, this early consecration, made a profound impression upon susceptible dispositions, and influenced all their future existence, as indeed it did upon Gregory Nazianzen, who was consecrated in his childhood to God by Nonna, and before whose vision the form of Samuel continually floated ; but at the same time it unquestionably bound many to a state of life, for which they did not feel that predisposing frame of mind which is so peculiarly requisite among the holy.

Chrysostom attended the school of Libanius, where he became early distinguished by his eloquence.¹ From an intimate acquaintance with the philosophy of ancient Greece, and from his

cation, in which he says, that a certain readiness in the usual course of business and the administration of state affairs, and an acquaintance with the Latin style then in use in the public offices, and with short-hand writing, could so far supply the place of a liberal education, that the *ταχυγραφοι*, and the *υπογραφεις* might attain to the highest places in the state. “ *Τους υπογραφεας εις τον των υπαρχων εγκαθιζουσι θρονον.*” Liban. III. p. 438. Of fathers generally he says : “ *οι μεν ολως επι το γραφειν εις ταχος τους αυτων υιεις ετρεψαν, αμελησαντες του της διανοιας καλλους, οι δ' αμφοιν εφροντισαν, του μεν ως οντος καλου, του δε ως εν δοκιμουτος.* Vol. II. p. 216.

¹ Sozomen reports the heathens to have said, “ the Christians have stolen him from us.”

remarkable powers of rhetoric, Libanius was easily enabled to excite the warm imagination of his youthful followers, by a display of heathen mythology, and to prejudice them against Christianity by specious and impious sophisms. Of these advantages he readily availed himself; but the pernicious effects such instruction might have produced, were counteracted by the religious principles which Anthusa continually instilled into the mind of her son, and by his early intercourse with the Bible. In later life Chrysostom was enabled, from his own experience, to speak of the blessed influence of an early and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures.¹ Throughout his writings, and his whole conduct, he affords a striking example of the mighty power which the Bible can exercise over the human heart; for by the study of that sacred volume, the great features of his character were formed. Hence arose his enthusiasm for holiness, his high moral energy, his unshaken constancy and ardent love, his aversion to the vain ostentation of his day, his eager zeal for truth and justice, animated by a fervent and steadfast faith. The Bible was to Chrysostom the book of life, which illustrated the great truths he preached. From that book he derived, in his earliest works and discourses, those perfect images of an heroic, struggling, and victorious faith, by a contemplation of which he acquired strength during the severe sufferings of his closing days; and from the same living source he also drew the great moral principles which equally pervaded his first writings and his last letters, and which he faithfully observed during his whole life.

¹ See the expressions of Chrysostom upon this subject introduced in the Second Period of this Vol.

The study of ancient literature had, next to that of the Holy Scriptures, the greatest influence upon the education of Chrysostom. This is perceptible, not only in the fulness and abundance of his eloquence, which could only have proceeded from a heart so rich and overflowing as his, but also in his views upon the natural condition of man, with reference to his state of grace under the dispensation of the gospel. However advantageous the school of Libanius might have been to the classical acquirements of Chrysostom, the prejudicial effect which the prevailing system of rhetoric had upon him as a preacher, cannot be overlooked, although in him more than in Gregory Nazianzen, it was softened down by a Christian simplicity of character, and by a depth of mind, which animated the richness of his language; and in the cities, where oratorical splendour everywhere predominated, simplicity of style would have proved but a slight attraction.

When Chrysostom had completed his literary education, he devoted himself to the avocations of the forum, which were then a preparation for important public offices, and commenced practising as an advocate.¹ He however became disgusted with the restlessness and evil practices, peculiarly connected with this profession, during

¹ This appears from a letter of Libanius to one John, which Isidor of Pelusium introduces, Lib. II. Ep. 42, and which he applies to Chrysostom, and we have no reason to doubt this application, made by a cotemporary so well acquainted as he was with the affairs of Chrysostom. In this letter Libanius testifies to the young Chrysostom, his approbation of a panegyric upon an emperor, written after the manner of the Sophists, and which he had sent to him, and at the same time he expresses his delight, that Chrysostom had united this oratorical exercise with the profession of the law, (*τῷ δεικνυμένῳ τὴν τέχνην ἐν δικαστηρίοις προστιθεῖσας ἐπιδειξείης.*) with which Socrates also agrees. vi. 3.

a period of great public corruption; and this disinclination to worldly employment excited in his mind increased desire for a life of tranquillity, entirely devoted to godly pursuits. The aged and revered Bishop Meletius also took him under his especial care; for that worthy man soon perceived the eminent services which his disposition and talents might one day confer upon the church.

Judging from our imperfect accounts of the life of Meletius, his character must have closely resembled that of Chrysostom, and he probably contributed in no small degree to form the religious opinions of the latter; fostering in his mind that spirit of charity which wins upon the human heart, and giving it that practical direction which tended to assuage the bitterness incident to the polemical controversies of the age in which he lived.

Meletius, a native of the Armenian province Melitene, had obtained, by a life of the strictest piety, the esteem of all men; in consequence of which, he was appointed Bishop of Sebaste, in Armenia. But as his flock retained great attachment to their former Bishop Eustatius, who had been deposed for errors of an ascetic nature, Meletius, in all probability, found no sphere of action corresponding to the mildness of his disposition, and was therefore induced to withdraw to Beroe in Syria. Meletius, as many others of the eastern church, appears to have gone over by degrees from a moderate Semiarianism, to a confession of the Homousion, and this transition may be perceived in the sermon, which he preached on entering his office, and to which we shall presently allude. But the practical character of his mind did not permit him to take any active part in the doctrinal disputes then

carried on with extreme acrimony, and he, like many other peacefully disposed persons, who conscientiously agreed with the Nicene Creed, consented, because it contained no positive mark of Arianism, to sign that creed, by which all fixed declarations concerning the *ὁσια* in the doctrine of the Trinity were laid aside. Meletius had probably deceived himself, as many others had done before him, with a false hope, that by these means, peace would be for some time re-established in the church. From the line of conduct Meletius had hitherto pursued, the ruling Arian party expected from him no attack upon their doctrines, and it was generally believed, that he would be enabled with greater facility than others, to reconcile the parties in the Antiochian church, which had for a long time been torn by the most violent schisms. He was therefore made Bishop of Antioch towards the end of the year, A.D. 360. The Emperor Constantius happened to be at Antioch, when Meletius was installed into his new dignity, and wished to compel the bishop to declare immediately his views upon those doctrinal questions which engaged the public attention. He therefore appointed the most eloquent of the bishops there assembled, to preach the sermons to be delivered on that day; and he commanded that they should explain the 22nd verse of the 8th chap. of Proverbs. "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old," which verse the Arians were wont to urge in support of their doctrines, that the Son of God was a possession; ¹ and further, that Mele-

¹ This, which is related by Theodoret, accords with the whole tenor of the discourse of Meletius, and with particular allusions in it. On the other hand, that which Sozomen reports of the dispute of Meletius with his archdeacon, may be subsequent fiction or exaggeration.

tius, last of all, should hold his inaugural discourse, and confine himself to the same subject.¹ In this discourse, Meletius, regardless of the attacks of men, or of the unpopularity of his observations, displayed an open love of truth, tempered by moderation and wisdom. He began with a remark suited to the times, and opposed to the speculative spirit which prevailed in religious controversies, viz. that true godliness was obedience to Christ. “The command of the Lord cannot be observed, where love to God prevaieth not, for our Saviour himself saith, “If ye love me, keep my commandments.” and there is neither light of eye nor heart, where the command of the Lord shineth not. No one can declare the word of truth, in whom Christ dwelleth not, and out of whom Christ speaketh not; and we can only remain in communion with Christ, when “we speak of his testimonies even before kings, and are not ashamed.” An allusion to the presence of the Emperor. He then confessed the divinity of Christ, and declared in the strongest terms the unity of the Son of God with the Father, without touching upon the controversies respecting the *οὐσία*, so that moderate Semiarians and adherents to the Homou- sion might have been satisfied with his declarations. He then proceeded to controvert the Arian interpretation of the 22d verse of the 8th chap. of Proverbs. In explaining this passage, we must follow the living spirit, not the dead letter. Since no human expression can adequately designate the being of the divine *λογος*, the Holy Scripture assigns to him various at-

John xiv.
15.

Ps. cxix.
46.

¹ Meletius himself in this discourse, § 4, says, that others had spoken upon this text before him: *οὐχ ὅτι οὐκ ἐντελῶς εἰρήται τοῖς πρὸ ἡμῶν εἰρηκοσίον.*

tributes and marks, in order to conduct the spirit of man by degrees, from that which is revealed, to that which is hidden. He then set a limit to further inquiries, by quoting the 1 Cor. xiii. 9, 10, concerning the extent of human knowledge. "For we know in part, and we prophecy in part, but when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part shall be done away." "Take heed," said he, "lest in searching for that which we cannot comprehend, we lose the knowledge God hath granted unto us. The further a man seemeth to advance in knowledge, the more mindful must he be, that he is but a man." When the Arian party of the court found themselves deceived in their expectations of Meletius, they succeeded, before he had been thirty days at Antioch, in effecting his exile to his native land of Militene, in Armenia. But Meletius had already so much gained the affections of his flock, that when the prefect conducted him in a chariot out of the town, the people assembled and threw stones at him, upon which Meletius protected him with his own mantle; a circumstance related by Chrysostom, p. c. 386.¹ in a discourse to the memory of this spiritual father, who had been so dear to him, and had then been dead five years. But this persecution, which Meletius suffered for his faith, did not reconcile him to the zealots; for partly displeased with him on account of his treatment of doctrinal disputes when in the pulpit, and partly on account of his ordination by Arian bishops, they never acknowledged his episcopal dignity, and continued to form at Antioch a sect under the name of the Eustathians.

Upon his return to Antioch, which soon after-

¹ It is to be found in vol. ii. ed. Montfaucon.

wards occurred under the emperor Julian, he ministered to his flock with some intervals during twenty years. In that city his likeness was seen engraved on signets, and painted upon the walls of chambers; and children were called after him to perpetuate his remembrance in families, and to give to youthful minds, by continuing his name, a model for imitation. From a single saying of Meletius, with which we have accidentally become acquainted, it would appear, that to a strict life he united liberal views upon asceticism, and that he prized moral strength more highly than bodily penance. For he said once to a monk, who wore a coat of iron mail around his body: "There is no need of iron; mental resolution is sufficient to chain the body by the bonds of reason."¹ In this single trait may be discovered a relationship of character between Chrysostom and Meletius.

Although infant baptism was at this time generally regarded as a divine institution, many were accustomed, particularly in the Greek church, to defer to later years the baptism of their children, unless immediate danger required an earlier performance of the rite. This arose either from indifference towards religion, or from mistaken views respecting the real nature of baptism; for some parents dreaded to expose the tender age of childhood to greater spiritual danger, should the pardon of sins received in baptism be thrown lightly away, and thus by a transgression of the baptismal covenant, a heavier responsibility be incurred. The origin of this mistake, as of most errors in the doctrine of the sacraments,

¹ Theodoret. hist. relig. c. 26. περιττον τον σιδηρον, αρκουσης της γνωμης, λογικα τφ σωματι περιθειναι δεσματα.

was a confused notion existing between the outward sign, and that faith, to which alone is attached the promise of divine grace. The neglect of infant baptism caused many to grow up in a half heathen, half Christian state, from which they had to withdraw themselves, when they became aware of their spiritual deficiency, and sought a more intimate communion with the church; whereas being the children of Christian parents, the germs of their spiritual life might have been from the beginning unfolded in the bosom of the church, and enriched with all the blessings imparted by Christ to human nature. It conferred, however, not unfrequently a greater importance upon the celebration of baptism; for many only resolved upon it, after having been awakened to a serious and holy change by special acts of providence, either of a temporal or spiritual nature; and this sacred rite then marked a new and important era of their lives. Of this number was Chrysostom, who after receiving instruction in the doctrines of Christianity during three years from Bp. Meletius, and being baptized by him, determined to devote himself entirely to the concerns of religion.

It was the custom of that day for such converts to choose between the ecclesiastical and monastic state, according to their inclinations towards an active or a retired life.¹ Many of the young men of Antioch, thus spiritually awakened, connected themselves with the monks, who, engaged in prayer and devotional music, religious meditation, the study of the sacred writings, and various manual occupations, lived

¹ Gregory Nazianzen, in the history of his own life, speaks of such a choice between the *βίος πρακτικός*, and the *βίος θεωρητικός*. *Carmen de vita sua*, p. 5.

in cells on the hills near the city ; from among such venerable persons those young men sought for spiritual guides. A contemplation of the severe, abstemious, and simple life of these monks made a stronger impression, when contrasted with the licentious and corrupt habits of the city ; and it often happened, that worldly men, who in thoughtless mood had ascended the hills, returned with altered feelings ; for they were greatly affected by the unusual sight of persons, who free from the manifold desires and restless passions of the world, and independent of external circumstances, had found in the intercourse with their God an inexhaustible source of happiness. Ashamed of themselves—conscious of their own deficiency, and with feelings, hitherto unknown, of longing for a better life, they departed from the monks. Many of these holy men were really deserving of the general esteem, for they not only led in their retirement a life devoted to God, and gave their advice and admonition to all who sought them, but in periods of heavy misfortune were ever ready to assist the city by the influence of their venerable appearance and by their fearless words, which had the greater weight, as they were seldom heard. Chrysostom warmly participated in the general feelings of veneration for their mode of life, and had he been in a situation to follow freely his own inclination, he would have immediately connected himself with them ; but many things contributed to withhold him. Meletius, desirous to gain him for the active duties of the church, consecrated him to the office of public reader of the scriptures,¹ usually entrusted to

¹ ἀναγνώστης.

young persons, who were preparing for holy orders. His mother, dreading to be separated from her son, endeavoured to retain him in her house, and without consulting him, provided for all his personal wants, that he might follow the bent of his mind the more undisturbed. On the other hand his friend Basilius, the companion of his youthful studies, having chosen a path of life different from his own, and having joined the monks, exerted himself in every way to bring over Chrysostom to his views. This, however, his mother strove to prevent, representing to him, that he was the only comfort of her old age, and that there was no sacrifice she had not made for his sake; and without doubt he was influenced by these representations.

In this retirement he was zealously occupied by the study of the Bible. His spiritual father, Meletius, could no longer be his guide and instructor; he had been exiled p. c. 370, by the emperor Valens, who persecuted many of the opponents of Arianism, and he passed several years in banishment. His place was supplied by the presbyters Evagrius and Diodorus, the latter of whom was afterwards known as Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and who obtained great esteem by his learning and persevering zeal in the defence of divine truth against heathens and heretics. He wandered unwearied through the old town of Antioch on the further side of the Orontes, where the congregation of Meletius had fixed their seat,¹ to confirm men in the true faith. He would not accept any settled income with his office; but he was received first in one house and then in another,

¹ Vide p. 9.

and was content to have his daily need relieved by the love of those, for whose salvation he laboured amid so many perils.¹ He also conferred a great benefit upon the church of this district, by assembling around him, as the presbyters Dorotheus and Lucianus had done at the latter end of the third century, a circle of young men, whose religious education he superintended.² In this union Chrysostom and Theodorus were alike conspicuous, the latter of

¹ Chrysostom represents it thus, and appeals to the testimony of his congregation, in his panegyric upon Diodorus when bishop. § 4. T. iii. opp.

² We here withdraw our assumption in the first edition of this work, that Diodorus first became the teacher of Chrysostom, after Chrysostom had retired to live among the monks at Antioch. For it is very doubtful whether Diodorus ever left the active service of the church, and became the head of any particular monastic society. In the discourse alluded to, Chrysostom represents him only as an active teacher of the church. Since he does his utmost in this discourse to compare him with John the Baptist, he would scarcely, had there been any truth in it, have overlooked the point, that Diodorus, like John the Baptist, had withdrawn to the wilderness. We will therefore rather suppose, that Diodorus as presbyter, was engaged in preparing for the church young men at this same period, who formed a free society around him, as was afterwards the practice of Theodorus, also a presbyter of the same church. Vid. the epistle of Bishop Mel. of M. in the Syn. ep. 152. opp. Theodoret, Vol. V. p. 833. This was probably the same Theodorus, whom Gennadius mentions as a presbyter of Antioch, c. 12. Socrates and Sozomen indeed admit, that Chrysostom, when monk, was a pupil of Diodorus and Carterius, who were at that time superintendants of an *ἀσκητηριον*, gymnasium. But, after what has been said, this can only be understood as regards Diodorus, in as far as he directed the spiritual education of young men at Antioch. Socrates and Sozomenus, who had no accurate knowledge of the Antiochian church, and heard Diodorus praised both as a rigid ascetic and spiritual teacher, might,—not knowing how to separate the different relations,—easily conclude, that Diodorus was an abbot in the common way. They were perhaps more in the right with regard to Carterius.

whom subsequently distinguished himself as the successor of Diodorus, both in this and in the episcopal office. We may suppose that the influence exercised by Diodorus over Chrysostom must have been great, when we remember that Diodorus above all others contributed to form that Antiochian school so remarkably distinguished by the character of its theology, and which was perfected by Theodorus.¹ In this school Chrysostom acquired that simple, sound, grammatic and historical mode of interpreting the Bible, in which he suffered himself to be guided and determined by its spirit, rather than by that capricious system of allegory adopted by others, which gave to the inspired volume a sense foreign to it, and substituted for its simplicity far-fetched and specious meanings, supposed to lie concealed within it. Thus from the simple word did Chrysostom derive the rich treasures which are to be met with in his Homilies; and thus was formed the sober, practical Christianity which afterwards rendered him so eminent, and which is always to be found with those, who in singleness of heart seek from the fountain source a knowledge of divine truth.

We have before observed the influence which Diodorus exercised over the theological education both of Chrysostom and his friend Theodorus; and it is remarkable in how different a manner the characters of these two great men were unfolded under the same spiritual guidance. Theodorus was distinguished for knowledge and acuteness of judgment; Chrysostom for practice

¹ The fragments of the writings of Diodorus, which have been preserved to us, discover all those fundamental principles of the Antiochian doctrine of faith, which were further worked out by Theodorus.

and fervour of heart. Both became lights of the church ; the one in learning and science ; the other as a guide for Christian conduct. In the theology of Theodorus, rather than in that of Chrysostom, we recognize the influence of Diodorus. The doctrine of faith, as it had been set forth by Diodorus, was systematically matured by his disciple Theodorus. Chrysostom was not so well qualified to advance a system, and his doctrine of faith less dependent upon that influence, discovered itself in his own Christian life. On that account many ideas belonging to the school of Diodorus, assumed in Chrysostom a different form, and he became a connecting link between the Antiochian school and the rest of the Eastern church.

It may be supposed, that during the time which the young men first passed together, great difference of disposition disclosed itself. Theodorus was the younger of the two, scarcely twenty years of age. Like Chrysostom, he was a pupil of Libanius,¹ and enthusiastically attached to the study of ancient literature ; but the devotion of Chrysostom to an ascetic life, abstracted from worldly affairs, and solely dedicated to the contemplation of heavenly concerns, operated so powerfully upon the mind of his young friend, that he forsook the school of Libanius to join a society of youthful ascetics, which had been formed at Antioch under the guidance of Diodorus ; exchanged his researches in ancient literature for the study of the Bible, and abandoned a career of worldly splendour,

¹ The different ages of the two young men occasion some difficulty as to their having been fellow pupils of Libanius, as Socrates and Sozomen report ; but these writers are not sufficiently accurate on such points, that we should have great scruple in departing from their authority.

to which his rank entitled him, for a life of retirement and manifold privation. But this youthful zeal was a transitory ebullition: Theodorus returned to his former mode of life, and in his defence he affirmed, that he had committed no unlawful act, and that a life spent amidst civil society, and in marriage, was a holy state ordained by God. Chrysostom did not deny this last assertion; but he had been brought over to the prevailing opinion of the church of that period, which although it acknowledged the sanctity of the marriage state, regarded a single life, devoted to God, as the higher grade of Christian virtue, from which a man could not fall back without sin. This opinion responded to the seriousness of Chrysostom's character, which contemplated each duty in its strictest sense, and was disposed to view every thing in too serious, rather than too light an aspect; and he was at that moment under the strong influence of ascetic enthusiasm. We shall see, that at a later period of life his views upon this subject became enlarged and mitigated. At this time he wrote a letter to his friend, in which he reproached him strongly, and admonished him to repentance; for the step, which Theodorus had taken appeared to him to be the violation of a vow made to Christ; his secession from a holy society to be a dissolution of the bond, by which the soul, more closely united with Christ, was engaged to belong solely unto him. He reminded him how much more blessed was an ascetic, than a worldly life. "To have the mind distracted by so many objects, to serve so many, to live for so many; but never to be able to live for oneself." Is this to live, Theodorus? None of these things, my beloved, are to be found

Ad Theodorum
Lapsum II.

among us, as thou thyself must testify ; for thou knowest the joy thou hast tasted, in the short period thou didst spend with us. He alone is free who liveth for Christ." Theodorus had not been induced to change his mode of life by that firm evangelical conviction, which had led such enlightened men as Jovinian, Vigilantius,¹ and others to combat the prevailing spirit of asceticism ; for in that case the representation of Chrysostom, which could have been easily refuted upon fair evangelical grounds, would not have made so deep an impression upon his friend.²

¹ We find in Isidor. ep. iii. 351, a dispute concerning the overrating of celibacy, upon the ground of its requiring more virtue to endure a contest with the world, than to fly it.

² This letter of Chrysostom to Theodorus is mentioned by the early writers as the only one. Later writers allude to two letters, and in the works of Chrysostom two letters of the same import are really to be found, of which however the first is rather a treatise, and is not even so much as addressed to a Theodorus. If indeed these two letters related to the same event, and were written to the same person ; it would be altogether inexplicable that no allusion to each other should be found in them. Montfaucon, it is true, thought to have found in the closing words of the second and shorter epistle an allusion to several preceding letters. Chrysostom says, viz : " I know that I have gone beyond the limits of a letter, but, forgive me, it was not my will to have done so, but constrained by love and grief, I also have forced myself to write this epistle (*δι' ἣν και ταυτην ἐβιασαμην ἐμαυτον γραψαι την ἐπιστολην,*) although many would have prevented me." Montfaucon endeavoured to draw from these words ' also this epistle,' a necessary inference, that Chrysostom had sought to influence Theodorus by former letters, to which letters the " intreaties of others, that he should cease to labour in vain, and sow seed upon rocks," had reference. But the word ' also,' evidently refers only to what had just preceded, that he had thereby been led to write so long an epistle, as well as that thereby he had also forced himself to write to him at all, in opposition to much dissuasion. And we have no right to connect these dissuasions with letters of Chrysostom, which had formerly

Meanwhile the fame of his pious zeal and ability extended far and wide, and raised in Bishops and in flocks a wish to draw him from retirement, and win him to a higher office of the church. Many sought to persuade both him and his friend Basilius to undertake episco-

been written in vain ; but they might refer to many other circumstances, which rendered a successful result of the epistle improbable. We should rather expect,—had really another letter of Chrysostom preceded this one,—to find such letter here expressly alluded to. “ How could he expect to effect any thing by this letter, after having made a vain attempt by a former one.” And this would be the more to be expected, if we compare the mild tone of the second letter with the by far severer tone of the first letter, and in itself it is highly improbable, that he should hope to be able to effect by the second and milder epistle, that which he had been unable to effect by the first and far more impressive one. Moreover the two letters appear to point at different persons, to whom they were addressed. The second to one, who was unconscious of having done any thing wrong,—the first, to one who had allowed himself to be led away from monastic life to sensual indulgences, and believed that he now no longer could return to the holiness of his former profession. The second letter may therefore have been written to some fallen brother at a later period, after Chrysostom had spent some time among the monks at Antioch. In this letter may be perceived the rise of the fundamental principles of Chrysostom with respect to the importance and freedom of the human will, whereby a man, who hath fallen ever so low, may raise himself again through the love of God, which discovers itself even in repentings.

With respect to the second letter, which certainly must chronologically be regarded as the first letter, there is much which would seem to show, that Chrysostom had written it as a member of a monastic society near Antioch, for to this may be referred what he says concerning the society of brethren, from which Theodorus had seceded, and who grieved for the absence of Chrysostom. But what we have observed concerning Diodorus is too much in opposition to this view. In all that Chrysostom says respecting the austere life of Theodorus we find no trace of his residence among those monks, and if we suppose a free religious society to have been formed at Antioch under Diodorus himself, those expressions would become easily intelligible.

pal ministeries, although thirty was the age prescribed by the law, and they were not above twenty six years old. Both agreed to act together on a common plan, and to decline any invitation of this nature; because they entertained too high an idea of the importance and duties of the office, to consider themselves fitted for it.¹ But the opinion, which Chrysostom held of his friend, totally differed from that, which he formed of himself. While he was only conscious of his own defects, he remarked qualities in his friend, which rendered him more worthy of the episcopal dignity, than many others of his cotemporaries and fellow countrymen; and he thought himself justified in a deception,² in

¹ The historical truth of this statement rests upon Chrysostom's having taken from real life the circumstances with which he has clothed his dialogue upon the priesthood. It were certainly possible, as Professor Hasselbach has learnedly and acutely shown, that Chrysostom, who was formed in the school of Libanius, and well acquainted with ancient literature, should have chosen poetical and not historical circumstances, with which to invest his dialogue. But we have no sufficient grounds for assuming this, since every fact related in the dialogue is suitable to the life of Chrysostom. The irregularity with respect to age, proves nothing, for it is well known, with how little severity the ecclesiastical laws, particularly those of the eastern church, were observed. Had the difficulty regarding age been so unsurmountable, Chrysostom would hardly have introduced it even poetically, because poetry in such instances is drawn from the life. And had Chrysostom thus represented himself in a poem, it would have been an ostentation of which he cannot be supposed capable. As poetry he would certainly have applied it to another person.

² In the first book of his work upon the priesthood, Chrysostom defends the principle that a falsehood or deception is permitted for a good object. It is only the intention to defraud another, which in his opinion, constitutes that which is properly called deceit. A poetical invention, which has for its sole object the advantage of another is rather an *οικονομία*. This lax view respecting truth was not peculiar to Chrysostom, but was consonant with the prevail-

order to place his friend in such a sphere of action. Basilus was elected bishop, and received consecration under the impression, that his friend had also received it, according to their agreement; but Chrysostom had contrived to withdraw himself from the charge. In conferences with Basilus, he had to defend him-

ing spirit of the eastern church, and had its origin in the views, which prevailed concerning morality and which were of too utilitarian a nature. Thus in his defence of the "fraus pia," he goes back to the general principle, that every action becomes moral or immoral according to the design or animus (the *προαιρεσις*) with which it is done; which position is indeed true in its application to actions which are not so sufficiently marked by any decided features, as to entail upon them a moral censure; but not as, in this instance, in its application to an action, which is marked by the violation of a moral law, so essential as that of truth, and which can therefore never be justified by any views of expediency. In this point of view, suicide for a holy object, viz. to withdraw the body from the necessity of serving sin, appears to Chrysostom a good act, and this way of thinking seems so natural to him, that not the least doubt about it arises in his mind. Vid. Hom. in sanctam Bernicem et Prodocem, vol. ii. and Hom. v. in Paulum, vol. ii. p. 506. We find few exceptions to this view so generally prevalent in the Greek church. To the most remarkable of these belong the words of a cotemporary of Chrysostom, the venerable monk, John of Lycopolis in Egypt, who says to a deacon, who out of modesty would deny his clerical rank: "το ψευδος ἐστιν ἀλλοτριον του Χριστου, και των Χριστιανων, καν ἐπι μικρω καν ἐπι μεγαλω γενηται πραγματι καν δια τοδε χρησιμον γενηται, ὁμως οὔδε ἐστιν ἐπαινετον, του Σωτηρος εἰποντος, ὅτι το ψευδος ἐκ του πονηρου ἐστιν." Vid. Pallad. hist. Laus. p. 965. vol. xiii. bibl. patr. Paris. Among these exceptions may also be reckoned Basil of Cæsarea, who in his "Lesser Monastic Rules" expressly condemns the *οἰκονομία* for the effecting a good object, for the same reason as did John of Lycopolis; because Christ says John v. 44. that a lie is of the devil, and Basil draws no distinction between lies: "του κυριου διαφορα^ν ψευδους οὔδεμιαν ἐκφηναντος. Reg. brev. interrogat. 76. These exceptions are the more remarkable, as being among the monks, because it was among them, that the principle of the *οἰκονομία*, or the officiosum mendacium, was chiefly defended. Vid. Cassian. collat. 17.

self against the accusation of having violated friendship; and one word giving rise to another, Chrysostom disclosed to him his views concerning the dignity and duties of the episcopal office; but at the same time he strove to encourage him in his undertaking. These conversations gave occasion afterwards to one of Chrysostom's most important writings.

During the residence of Chrysostom at Antioch, he was rescued from imminent danger by a special act of providence, at least such was the light in which he ever regarded it. Under the reign of the suspicious and cruel Valens, no accusation involved greater peril, than that of being addicted to the study or practice of magic, for in such pursuits the emperor failed not to discover a conspiracy against his government and life; and a letter, found upon an Augur, would have been sufficient to have brought down upon the writer torture and death.¹ It happened, that such a suspicion had been awakened in the emperor's mind against several persons at Antioch; in consequence of which, he had caused the city to be surrounded with soldiers, and a rigid search to be made for books of divination and magic. During that time Chrysostom, accompanied by a friend, was passing through the gardens on the banks of the Orontes, in his way to the chapel, of the Martyr Babylas, when his companion observed some-

¹ It was carried so far, that if a letter was found upon a heathen priest or diviner, in which cure for a disease was sought, which not unfrequently happened to be applied for by the credulous and superstitious heathen at the suggestion of Esculapius or some other god, it was sufficient to expose the person upon whom the letter was found to the most cruel tortures of the rack. Vid. Ammian. Marcellin. lib. XXIX. cap. 1 and 2. et Liban. de fortuna sua, vol. i.

thing which he at first supposed to be a piece of fine linen floating upon the river ; but upon approaching, discovered it to be a roll of paper. In the hope of making some happy discovery, he raised it out of the water, and, upon unfolding it, they perceived, that it was inscribed with magic characters. At the same moment a soldier chanced to pass near them, upon which Chrysostom's companion, filled with apprehension, concealed the roll, and they proceeded on their way. Had it been found in their possession, the worst consequences might have ensued ; and protestations of innocence would scarcely, in that dark age, have saved them from the rack. At last they took courage, threw it away, and fortunately escaped observation. Chrysostom, accustomed to illustrate the truths of religion by examples drawn from life, related this many years afterwards to his congregation at Constantinople, having previously said, " As we in respect of our sins content ourselves with a general confession of our sinfulness, without being rightly conscious of our particular sins ; in like manner are we satisfied with a general acknowledgment, that God is our benefactor, without bringing properly before our minds the special acts of his goodness. But from henceforward let us take a righteous care, and if we accurately recall to our memory past events, we shall find therein a treasure, which will be to us a remedy against despair."

Hom. in
Act Apost.
XXXVIII.

It was probably after the death of his mother that Chrysostom accomplished his earlier project of joining the monks, near Antioch. In his sermons preached in that city, we find many descriptions of their mode of life, and from these it is evident, that his abode with them had left

Hom. in
Matth.
LXVIII.

a deep impression upon his mind. He says
 “Long before the sun shineth, they arise healthy,
 vigilant, and sober, and uniting themselves in a
 quire, they sing with joyful countenance and
 conscience, as out of one mouth, hymns to the
 praise of God, thanking him for the good which
 he hath granted them in common, and for that
 which he hath bestowed upon each individual.
 They then on bended knees implore that God,
 whose praise they have sung, for things under-
 stood by few, for they seek not the things of
 this world, they offer up but one petition, that
 they may be able to stand with confidence
 before that dreadful tribunal, when the only
 Son of God shall come to judge the living and
 the dead; that they may never hear those
 dreadful words, ‘I know you not,’ and that
 with a pure conscience and many good works,
 they may accomplish this troubled life. Their
 father and director beginneth the prayer. This
 devotion fulfilled, with the rising sun, each pro-
 ceedeth to his work, by which they earn much to
 distribute among the poor.” And again he says :
 “After they have sung the morning hymn, and
 concluded the morning prayer, they read the
 Holy Scriptures. For the third hour, (9 A. M.)
 the sixth, (midday,) the ninth, (3 P. M.) and the
 evening,—for these four portions of the day,
 various prayers and hymns are appointed.
 When they have finished their daily work, they
 seat themselves at table, and truly they have
 not many dishes; some eat only bread and salt,
 others take oil besides, the weaker add herbs
 and vegetables, Having closed their meal with
 hymns, they lay themselves down upon straw.
 No complaints are heard among them: they
 accompany the departed with songs. They
 call this an attendance, not a burial. They say

Matth. xxv.
12.

Hom. in 1
Epist. ad
Timoth.
XIV.

not : ‘ he is dead : ’ but : ‘ he is perfected. ’ They all then thank God, and each man prayeth for such an end, thus to have come through the struggle of life, thus to have reposed from strife and toil, thus to have attained to the beholding of Christ. Should one of them become sick, there followeth not lamentation, but prayer. Not the hand of the physician, but faith alone hath oftentimes healed the sick. But should any one need a physician,¹ neither skill nor patience will be found wanting. The soul of the sick man, free from all earthly cares, dwelleth unto his latest breath upon one thing alone, that he may leave this world, having found favour in the sight of God. ” He introduces the following prayer, which they offered up after a repast. “ Blessed God, who hast nourished us from our youth up, and givest food to all flesh, fill our hearts with joy and gladness, in that having always a sufficiency, we may abound in every good work, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with thee

Hom. in
Matth. LV.

¹ Although an unchristian indifference to bodily suffering or fanatical resignation and contempt of human means, led many monks in cases of sickness to reject all assistance, yet this was by no means generally the case. Even among the monks, special institutions for the care of the sick were usually established. A good merchant named Apollonius, settled among the five thousand monks, who dwelt upon the Saltpetre Hill, (*ὄρος Νιτρίας*) near the Sketian desert, in Egypt, and passed the last twenty years of his life among them. Being, in consequence of his advanced age, no longer able to learn or exercise the trades, which were usually carried on by the monks, he endeavoured to render himself useful in the following manner. He bought at Alexandria a quantity of medicines for various diseases, and he took them with him. He then went round into every cell daily, from early in the morning to three o’clock in the afternoon, and offered his assistance. At his death he bequeathed his dispensary to another, who was to succeed him in this business. Vid. Pallad. Hist. Laus. c. 14.

and the Holy Ghost be glory, honour, and power, for ever and ever. Amen. Glory be to thee, O Lord ; glory be to thee, O Holy One ; glory be to thee, O King, for having rejoiced us with food. Fill us with the Holy Spirit, that we may be found well pleasing in thy sight, and not ashamed, when thou shalt reward each man according to his works."

In this Christian community, which greatly contributed to form the mind of Chrysostom,—for he always delighted to look back to the period of his monastic life,—he engaged in unwearied study of the Holy Scripture, in prayer and the undisturbed contemplation of heavenly things ; and the experience he thus acquired became to him a rich treasure for the remainder of his days. Here prayer, and the study of the Bible, and of himself, first taught him to know and to draw from the true sources of life and strength. Here he obtained that profound knowledge of human nature, which he, who has not communed secretly with his heart at home, will vainly seek for in the world ; and it was this knowledge, which afterwards enabled him to seize rightly by their roots the moral evils of mankind. It was here, that a life of monastic severity tended to give the practical and moral direction to his character, which afterwards distinguished him, as a religious teacher, and led him to exalt the power and freedom of human will, which places man beyond the external influence of good or evil, and renders every thing dependant upon his own determination. But this practical disposition was at the same time too deeply implanted in his nature ever to have allowed of his running into the opposite extreme of Pelagianism, which however emanated equally from monastic life.

Chrysostom, as a monk, was called upon to defend against daily increasing reproaches and accusations that state of life, which he himself had found so attractive. The emperor Valens enacted A. D. 365 a law, by which the idlers,¹ who, in order to elude the burthens of the state, had retired to the wildernesses, and in appearance only had joined the monastic orders, were to be brought forth from their lurking places, and be compelled to fulfil their duties as citizens. Although the emperor Valens might have been an enemy of the monks, because among them the most zealous and influential opponents of Arianism were to be found; yet in the social relation of that age, there were urgent grounds for such an enactment, as many repaired to the monks, for the sake of flying from the duties they owed their country, and of participating in the immunities of those venerable men. Such persons deprived the state of much efficient strength, and introduced among the monks wild passions, which limited to the narrow sphere of a monastery, and wearing the cloak of sanctity, raged the more destructively. At the same time this law afforded to the enemies of the monks, not indeed to such men as Jovinian and Vigilantius, who opposed them upon pure evangelical and conscientious grounds, but both to Christians and heathens of a light and worldly character, a fair pretext for the persecution and ill-treatment of those, who had long been the objects of their hatred; or held in deep aversion the dispositions of the Christians, the '*nimum pietatis*' of the fraternity.

It often occurred that heathens or Christians

¹ Sectatores ignaviae.

upon whom the religion they professed had made but slight impression, bitterly persecuted the monks, as the spiritual counsellors of their pious wives. Many a father, invested with a high civil or military office, wished to educate his son in every specious art, for a shining career in the world; while the mother desired to bring him up as a good Christian, for the attainment of which object she regarded a monastery the best school. This became sufficient ground for the father, if he discovered it, to declare war against all monks; and thus many at Antioch, who had long been their inveterate enemies, availed themselves of the opportunity now offered to insult and persecute them. In justification of his order, and to conciliate its enemies, Chrysostom wrote a work in 3 vols. replete with excellent doctrine.¹

The sons of distinguished heathens either through the education of pious mothers, or the early impression made upon their minds by holy monks, were often induced, contrary to the will of their fathers, to devote themselves to a monastic life: Chrysostom therefore in his first volume, endeavoured to prove to the heathen, who only sought after earthly distinctions, that they had no reason to be ashamed of their sons becoming monks, for if in those days honoured monks came forth from their solitude into the world, they could bring to pass greater things than the mightiest in the state. Well might therefore Chrysostom say to the rich and powerful heathens: "Thou canst only dispose of thine own property, but thy son disposeth of the property of all. Let but thy son descend from his mountain, nay, let him remain there,

¹ Προς τους πολεμουντας τοις ἐπι το μοναζειν ἐναγοσιν.

and command one of the rich and good to bestow a sum of money upon an indigent brother, thou wilt see the rich man more willingly obey him, than one of thine household stewards would obey thee. . . . Should he appear in the market place, the whole town will approach him, point him out, and gaze upon him as upon an angel from heaven. . . . Which can address the emperor with the greater authority, or better remonstrate with him; thou, who art the master of large possessions, and on that very account art dependant upon the emperor's servants; thou, who hast to tremble for every thing, and afforest the emperor a thousand opportunities to injure thee in his displeasure;—or he, who is raised above the emperor's power? Surely he, who liveth apart from worldly concerns, can address him with the greater confidence. . . . If the sons of peasants and artificers,¹ who enter this state of life become so revered, that the first of the land are not ashamed to visit their cells, and consider it an honour to hold converse with them, how much more will this be the case with those of high birth and great possessions?" Chrysostom then proposes the objection: "What if a heathen ascend the imperial throne, and Christianity cease to be the ruling religion of the state?" Upon this point formerly every thing seemed, at least for the moment, to depend; for to this extent in the Eastern Empire the despotic caprice of one man prevailed; and among the great there were

¹ As for example, the celebrated monk John of Lycopolis in Egypt, who, when he was five and twenty years old, exchanged the monastic life for the trade of a carpenter, obtained as monk and hermit the reputation of a prophet, and whose advice was sought after by emperors and distinguished statesmen. Vid. Pallad. Hist. Laus. c. 43.

many whose religion fluctuated with that of the court.

But Chrysostom well knew, that the reign of Christianity was not to be advanced by external force: "The position of thy Son," continued he, addressing the heathen, "will yet be enviable, more enviable then; for with our cause it is not as with the cause of the heathen, it is not dependent upon the disposition of a ruler, but it resteth on its own internal strength, and shineth forth with the greater lustre, the more vehemently it is assailed." He further considered the monastic life, in reference to its religious importance, as a refuge from the corruption of the great cities: "Would to God," said he, "that the state of the cities permitted the fugitives to return to them from their retreats."

On this occasion he recommended to parents to employ the monks, as instructors to their sons, and brought home to their hearts the duties of education: "Great is the care of God for the education of children, wherefore he hath implanted in human nature that strong love which with an irresistible power inciteth parents to provide for them. He also hath enacted laws concerning the care to be taken of them, and when he instituted festivals, he commanded parents to explain the meaning of them to their children: 'Thou shalt show thy son in that day, saying, this is done, because of that which the Lord did unto me when I came forth out of Egypt.' God heavily avengeth the neglect of parents towards their children; but an anxious care of them he honoureth. For this neglect alone he chastised the aged Eli, who was in other respects exemplary; and for the fulfilment of this duty not less than for that of others, he honoured the patriarch Abraham; for when

he enumerated the many and great gifts, which he promised to confer upon him, among other reasons he assigned the following : I know that he will command his children, and his household after him, and they shall keep the way of the Lord to do justice and judgment.' To Parents, who always have their children around them, and under their control, the task of education is easy. It is their own headlong passion for earthly objects, which causeth the ruin of their children. While the things of this world are to them the highest objects of attainment, they neglect the souls of their children as well as their own. Such fathers I consider worse than murderers ; those can only separate soul from body, these precipitate both soul and body into hell. When a parent in these days encourageth his son to pursue his studies, we hear the following exhortation : " Behold this man, of low origin, who hath attained to power through his eloquence, and filleth the highest offices of the state, hath acquired great riches, married a wealthy wife, built a splendid mansion, and is by all looked up to, and feared. See that man, who by his knowledge of the Latin language, hath raised himself to a distinguished situation at the Imperial court, and dictateth there to all around him. Those only are held in estimation, who have become great in the world ; of heavenly concerns, no mention is made, and he who ventureth to allude to them, is banished as the disturber of society.¹ If therefore from childhood, ye hold up such examples to your sons, ye lay the foundation of all that is evil ; for ye instil into their minds the tyrant passions of

Exod. xviii.
19.

¹ Even in the schools of the Rhetoricians, it was permitted to make use of these passions as incitements to learning. Vide Liban. Ep. 349.

avarice and ambition. Either of these passions is sufficient to upset the virtuous principles of the youth ; but when, united, they fall upon his tender mind, they annihilate each germ of good ; like winter torrents met together, and bearing along with them so many weeds, so much sand and mud, that they destroy the kindly fruits of the earth, these passions render the mind unfruitful and void of good. And the worst is, that ye not only teach things opposed to the doctrine of Christ, but ye disguise vices under specious names ;—ever to be loitering in the circus or theatre, ye call the tone of good society ; striving after wealth, the seeking an independence ; ambition, a high feeling ; recklessness, courage : and as if this deception were not sufficient, ye designate virtues by opprobrious appellations ; temperance, ye call rusticity ; modesty, cowardice ; unassuming manners, servility ; patience, weakness. Ye spare no expence to adorn your houses with fine statues, and to cover your roofs with gold, but that the most precious of all statues, the soul, should be of gold, never engageth your thoughts.” Among the defects of education, Chrysostom chiefly adverts to the inadequate attention bestowed by the pedagogues on their pupils in the great towns during that age of corruption. These men, as it is well known, were slaves, and won by gold, or terrified by menaces, they constantly betrayed their trust.¹

There existed at this time an illusion, altogether opposed to the doctrine and spirit of the Gospel, and most prejudicial to the operation of Christianity, by which a distinction was drawn

¹ Compare these accounts of Chrysostom with the complaints of Libanius upon the prevailing corruption of the pedagogues of his day. L'ban. Ep. 39.

between the clergy and the laity, and religion regarded as an occupation suited only to ecclesiastics and monks. In opposition to the mode of thinking, which had before prevailed both in religion and philosophy, Christianity had quickened in the hearts of men the principles of a redemption, appointed equally for all mankind, and of a unity of godly communion among the redeemed, outweighing human distinctions. Every partition-wall, which had previously existed among men, fell to the ground before the power of this principle; all consecrated to God, the universal Father, through the one eternal priest; all filled, after this common consecration, by the one same Holy Spirit are ordained a true priesthood,—a spiritual people,—all members of which are appointed to fulfil the same higher law of life, and to obey the same calling of a worship spiritual and universal. As this principle of a universal priesthood had been the soul of Christianity from its earliest dispensation; a most essential corruption of the religion arose both in practice and doctrine, upon the suppression and falsification of the tenet by heresies of Jewish and heathen origin, which drew an unevangelical distinction between priests and laymen, between ecclesiastics and men of the world. Thus arose a twofold morality, for monks and for men of the world; ¹ the counsels of Christian perfection, containing more than the law requires for the former; and the general commandments, the ordinary morality of social life, for the latter.

Chrysostom was early in life convinced that this error was injurious to the influence of true Christianity, and required to be resolutely com-

¹ Similar to the ancient distinction between an *ἀρετη θεια* and an *αρετη πολιτικη*.

batted ; and during the whole of his subsequent ministry he endeavoured to restore that fundamental principle¹ of Christianity, the universal priesthood of all Christians. When the duty of bestowing a moral and religious education upon their sons was recalled to the mind of fathers, they were wont to reply : “ Would ye have us as serious as monks ? in that case the concerns of life must be involved in ruin.” To which Chrysostom replied : “ In truth it is not seriousness, but want of seriousness, which ruineth every thing. Thou greatly deceivest thyself, if thou believe, that other duties are required from the monks than from the laity. The difference alone consisteth in a married or an unmarried state ; in all other respects both alike must render an account to God. In the sermon on the Mount, Christ hath spoken to all Christians, and made no distinction between them. In like manner the Apostle Paul exhorteth us all as Christians to imitate Christ. That which hath brought ruin upon the world is our supposition, that severity of life is alone incumbent on monks, while the rest of mankind may continue to live in carelessness.”

Chrysostom recommended education in monasteries at a distance from the corruptions of the world, where children might early be made acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, be brought up in Christian habits, and the foundation of a true Christian character be laid, the fruits of which would afterwards discover themselves in

¹ Among those who endeavoured to revive this idea, was the Abbot Isidore of Pelusium, upon whose education Chrysostom had great influence. He thought to find in the words of the Apostle Paul concerning a reasonable worship of God, the indication of a universal Christian priesthood : “ ἕκαστον ἑαυτου ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μέρει ἱερεα εἶναι προσεταξεν.” lib. III. p. 75.

every relation of life. Where men truly enlightened were to be found among the monks, as was often the case, the advice of Chrysostom was doubtlessly correct; and even where too great an attention to outward forms, and too little of an evangelical spirit prevailed, education among them was more desirable than in corrupted families, or the schools of the sophists, in which vanity and ostentation were in every way encouraged.

In Vol. III. of the work from which the last extracts have been taken, Chrysostom introduces in support of his statements, the following anecdote. There was a young man, of distinguished family, whose father held a high military rank, and who, being destitute himself of any just views upon religion, and indifferent to the spiritual welfare of his son, was solely desirous of raising him to offices of distinction and honour. His mother, on the other hand, a zealous Christian, cared not for the worldly advancement of her son, and had set her heart upon educating him for a vocation heavenly and eternal. She believed that the most certain means of obtaining this object was to place him in a monastery; but she well knew, that this plan was opposed to the views of his father, and that if it came to his knowledge, he would use every exertion to frustrate her wishes. She therefore applied to a venerable monk, and confided to him the education of her son. The monk laid aside his habit, and assuming that of a pedagogue accompanied the youth to Antioch, where it had been decided, that he was to pursue his studies, and by constant instruction he imparted to the young man's mind an earnest faith, which distinguished him above all his fellow students.

At this period of his enthusiasm for Monachism, Chrysostom composed a work to the effect: "that there was more elevation and felicity in monastic life, than in the possession of the imperial dignity." "The Monk," he said, "combateth against evil spirits for the sake of piety and the worship of God, seeking to free cities and villages from idolatry; The emperor contendeth with barbarians for lands, boundaries, and spoil,—avarice and an unjust desire of empire urging him to the conflict. The Monk seeketh nought from the wealthy for himself, he asketh alms only for the poor, by which he benefiteth those who give, and those who receive. He is the common physician both of the rich and poor, liberating by his good advice the former from their sins, and relieving the poverty of the latter. The Monk by his prayers delivereth those possessed of evil spirits, and emperors themselves in seasons of calamity take refuge in his cell."

When Chrysostom had dwelt six years among the Monks, his health became impaired, more especially by the ascetic exercises of the last two years, following the example of the most rigid Monks,¹ which he had passed in a cave, and he was compelled to leave the mountains and return to Antioch A. D. 380. Bishop Meletius took advantage of this circumstance to engage him in the active service of the church, and ordained him deacon. Whilst he performed the duties of this office, which did not require his exclusive attention, he devoted his leisure hours to composing, on various occasions, treatises, in which he strongly enjoined the practice of Christian virtues.

¹ Vid. Pallad. Dialog. p. 17. and compare with this, Hist. Laus. lib. c. p. 902 and 4024.

He was labouring under the illness, which had obliged him to return to Antioch, when he was induced by the melancholy intelligence of the sufferings of a young man, in whose society he had lived among the Monks to address to him a consolatory epistle. This youth was Stagirus. Descended from a noble family, and reared in luxury, he had entered the holy fraternity contrary to the wishes and without the knowledge of his father, but to the joy of his mother, who had found means to keep it secret from her husband. The step he had taken was at first attended with success; but perhaps in consequence of so remarkable a change of life he fell into one of those nervous maladies, or extraordinary debilities of the bodily and mental powers, which in those times were attributed to the influence of evil spirits; and which the sufferers themselves were inclined to ascribe to the same cause, when they felt themselves agitated by wild and strange impulses which their reasoning and moral faculties were inadequate to controul. Chrysostom mentions as features of the unfortunate condition of his friend: "wringing of the hands, rolling of the eyes, foaming of the mouth, horrible and confused tones, trembling of the whole frame, and a temporary state of total insensibility." According to the custom of the times they sent him to the most revered Monks, and brought him to the chapels, which had been consecrated upon the graves of distinguished martyrs. Many instances were recorded in those days of cures effected by such means;¹ and is it indeed in-

¹ Theodoret relates the following remarkable circumstance, "A rich and illustrious lady at Antioch, lost her reason, she recognized none of her family, and would neither eat nor drink. In this state she remained a considerable

conceivable, that the presence of a holy man, which of itself naturally benefits the weak, his fervent prayer, drawing down strength from above, and the impression produced by a spot whose holy reminiscences turn the mind heavenward,—is it inconceivable, that such influences may have aroused the power of moral controul from its state of lethargy, have placed it in communion with a higher source of power, and thus have obtained for it a victory over such wild usurping impulses from whatever source they may be supposed to have sprung, and so have restored the equilibrium between the spiritual and the physical system of such disordered persons? We must guard ourselves indeed against judging and measuring all other ages by the particular period in which we ourselves are placed. Whole generations as well as individuals who surrender themselves to an exclusive direction towards the external world of sense and of matter, and who occupy their minds exclusively in endeavouring to trace the connection of cause and effect in sensible things, may thus close their faculties against higher impressions and influences, whilst other men and other generations

time, and it was generally affirmed that she was possessed of a devil; but the physicians said that she had a disease of the brain. When all aid had proved vain, her husband applied to the venerable Monk Macedonius. This man entered the house and addressed a fervent prayer to God. Having ended the prayer he ordered some water to be brought, and, after having made over it the sign of the cross, he desired her to drink it. As the physicians had forbidden her to drink cold water, because the disease might thereby be increased, he desired them all to retire, and gave it himself to the lady to drink. No sooner had she drunk it, than she came to her senses. Released from her complaint, she recognized the holy man, took his hand and kissed it, and she preserved her reason during the rest of her life.' *Hist. Ecclesias*, c. 13.

capable by the cultivation of nobler faculties and the pursuit of greater objects, may render themselves more susceptible to the communications and impressions of a superior world, although at the same time they may become liable to delusions individually or collectively as often as they neglect that due cultivation of the faculty of judgment, which is essential to the preservation of a steady balance between the higher and the lower elements of human nature.¹

Every effort to restore Stagirus's health was unavailing. That those means which had so often been successful with the worldly-minded should fail with regard to himself, grieved him the more, because he had never before experienced such a disease, and it seemed to arise solely from the ascetic exercises which he had imposed upon himself. He dreaded, that when his father, who was possessed of great power, should hear of his illness, he would wreak a heavy vengeance upon the monks; and he regarded the thought of suicide, which at times entered his mind during the depression of his spirits, as the suggestion of the evil one.

Chrysostom consoled his friend, by reminding him of the great truth, that God disposeth all things towards men for their good: he enjoined him to view his sufferings as a trial and means of edification; and assured him that the reason why God had not chastized him earlier was, that he might now be the more fitted to

¹ The above is literally translated from the German of Neander. I fear, that it may offend some persons; but, without offering any opinion of my own, I will only ask, who will be bold enough to fix the limits of influence between the visible, and material, and the invisible and spiritual world? How much that is unseen, and which science has discovered, works even in the natural world! J. C. S.

endure the probation. He represented to his friend the great benefit which he had derived from this conflict: "Since thou hast given thyself up to fasting and vigils, to zeal in reading the Bible, and to perseverance in prayer, thou hast made great advances in earnestness and humility. Previously thou didst occupy thyself little with the Bible; all thy care and labors were devoted to the plants in thy garden. I heard that many accused thee of arrogance, which they attributed to the splendour of thy descent, the renown of thy father, and to thine education in the midst of opulence."

In Lib. ii. he declares to him, that the thought of suicide proceeded not from the evil spirit, but from his own melancholy, against which if he struggled, the evil spirit would have no power over him.

We here remark that great object of which Chrysostom never lost sight,—the depriving his cotemporaries of every pretext for remissness in moral exertion. A vain belief in the influence of evil spirits had afforded such a pretext to the Christians; and the principle of an irresistible fatality, prevalent in all natural religions, had furnished the heathen with a similar excuse.

On the other hand, Chrysostom proclaimed the great truth, that every thing depends upon the moral tendency of a man's own will, and that this can be constrained by no external power. He further sought to remove the cause of his friend's affliction, by combatting the representations of the multitude, who considered such disorders to be caused by the influence of evil spirits, and to be both a misfortune and disgrace: "And if thou wert even possessed of devils, how can they injure thee, if thou lead

a virtuous life? It is a perverted judgment, which rendereth us ashamed of those things, of which we have no reason to be ashamed; and not of sin, which alone meriteth disgrace and punishment. To be the slave of sin, that, and that alone is to be possessed of devils." This opinion of Chrysostom was of the greatest importance at that time, when even the learned Apollinaius could declare, that those possessed of devils would descend alive into hell.¹ After urging his grounds of consolation, Chrysostom concludes, Lib. iii. in these words: "By such thoughts, and still more by prayer, must thou disperse these clouds; for the holy David had continual recourse to these means, and by them he overcame his manifold afflictions: at one time he prayed, 'The sorrows of my heart are enlarged, O bring thou me out of my troubles.' At another time he raiseth his mind to pious meditation; 'Why art thou so full of heaviness, O my soul, and why art thou so disquieted within me? Put thy trust in God: for I will yet give him thanks.' And again from meditation he turneth to prayer, 'O spare me a little, that I may recover my strength; before I go hence and be no more seen.'

Psalm
xxiv. 16.

Psalm
xlii. 6.
Psalm
xxxix. 13.

Not long after the death of the emperor Valens, at the commencement of the reign of Theodosius, about A. D. 379-80 Chrysostom addressed a consolatory epistle to a young widow, who had lost her husband Therasius in the flower of his age, just at the moment when it was believed, that he was on the point of being raised to the high dignity of Prætorian Prefect. He represented to her the glorified state of her husband: "I believe, that few

¹ "ζωντες εις ἄδου καταβησονται." Caten. Niceph. I. v. 1475.

among laymen have existed like unto your husband, endowed with so much humanity, probity, modesty, sincerity, prudence and piety. Had he indeed utterly perished and ceased to exist, there would be need of lamentation and grief; but if he have attained a tranquil haven, and have departed to his real sovereign, there is no need of sorrow, but of joy. For this death is not death, but a departure and change of abode, from worse to better, from earth to heaven, from men to angels and archangels, nay, to the Lord himself both of angels and of archangels." And he adds: "But if thou can in no wise bear the length of separation, then will he perhaps appear to thee in a dream, hold with thee the accustomed discourse, and will show to thee the wished-for countenance. This will be thy consolation in the absence of a letter." He consoled her with the mutability of all earthly things, a truth particularly striking in those turbulent days, when so many were precipitated into ruin from the summit of earthly greatness; and at the same time he evidently alludes to the period succeeding the death of the emperor Valens, who had lost his life in a war against the Goths: "Now hath come to pass, an event which never occurred before, the barbarians having abandoned their own country, have penetrated far into the Roman territory; and having burnt villages and captured towns, return not to their homes. They rove about in triumph, rather than carry on a war; they deride our people; and one of their Princes is reported to have said: "that he was astonished at the shamelessness of our soldiers, who when they were slaughtered as cattle, yet hoped to conquer, and would not yield their native land, though himself was weary of the carnage."

About this time Chrysostom wrote his defence of celibacy. In this instance, by the prevailing ideas of his age, Chrysostom had not evangelical truth on his side; but we must consider that his opponents,—although they advanced many reasons, in themselves just, and chiefly derived from St. Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians, and from the Old Testament,—were not his equals in strictness and piety; for they belonged to that irreligious party which was opposed to the monks. The more earnest Christians had already decided in favour of ascetic principles in ethics, in opposition to whom but few liberal minds came forward to contend upon the ground of evangelical truth. Chrysostom observes upon the arguments drawn from the Old Testament in favour of marriage, that the rules of life are not the same in the economy of the Old and New Testaments; he calls attention to a system of the divine revelations in their mutual bearing, laid down by the Pedagogues,—a subject, which much engaged the Antiochian school, and particularly Chrysostom, whose views upon it we shall mention in another place. He asserts, that the highest destination of human nature, a life of true godliness, was first made attainable by Christianity. "If thou would become perfect and worthy of the Saviour, thou must raise thy thoughts above human nature." The erroneous views of Monachism, in opposition to the true spirit of Christianity, considered not this godly life, as one, which could harmonize with human nature, and at the same time raise it to God; but contrasting it with mere sensuality, they regarded it as an elevation beyond the limits of our nature, and thus far as an entire suppression of human feelings. Chrysostom was at this

time greatly wrapt up in these monastic ideas, nor had he yet perceived, as he did at a later period, when he entered more into practical life, and practical Christianity had obtained a greater influence over him, how every thing human may become glorified through a Saviour, who himself assumed the nature of man. He then proceeds to recommend single life upon the ground of the infelicity, which commonly attended marriage in those days. On the other hand, when his views had afterwards become more practical, and he had obtained by experience a deeper insight into the wants of his age, he frequently pointed out, how much the kingdom of God might be advanced by a married woman in domestic life. In this work we perceive him maintain those points of religion most essential to Christian practice, and steer safely between the two dangerous extremes in the doctrine of grace and free-will which we soon after find opposed to each other; in the church; for he neither with an arrogant self-confidence overates the natural and unassisted strength of man, nor led away by an inert reliance upon God or by a presumptuous speculation, does he deny that free agency, which is an essential part of human nature: "How," he enquires, "shall we obtain divine favour? By the strenuous performance of the duties imposed upon us, and above all, by not relying upon our own strength. If we accomplish any righteous work, let us say to ourselves: 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.'

Psalm
cxxvii. 1.

Here, also, as frequently at a later period, he combats the illusion of those who thought to find support for their immorality in the piety of others, instead of labouring at their own amendment: "In that hour the virgin, who

hath not trimmed her lamp, will not be suffered to borrow oil from the others, but will be shut out; and he who is not arrayed in a wedding garment will not be able to go forth and change his apparel, but will be cast into hell-fire: Nor will it then avail him, if he call upon Abraham himself. For the day of the Lord being arrived, the judgment seat prepared, the judge sitting, and 'as it were a fiery stream issuing and coming forth from before him,' and enquiry being made into our deeds, it will no longer be permitted to us to be cleansed from our sins; but willing or unwilling we shall be dragged to the punishment we have deserved. No one then shall have the power to intercede for us, though he have confidence equal to that of the most exemplary men, though he be Noah, Job, or Daniel, and though he entreat for his sons and daughters, it will avail nothing; but sinners must undergo everlasting punishment, and the righteous will receive their reward. Christ hath declared, that neither shall have an end, the life shall be eternal, the punishment eternal: for when he commended those on his right-hand, and condemned those on his left, he said, 'These shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal.'

Daniel vii.
10.

About this time he composed his excellent work upon the Martyr Babylas, for the purpose of proving to the heathen by an impressive example the divine power of Christianity. The occasion of it was the following: the grove of Daphne, situated in a suburb of Antioch, and famed for its temple of Apollo, was one of the

¹ See the description of this grove in the *Antiochichus* of Libanius, ed. Reiske, vol. i. p. 351.

most delightful spots in the world.¹ Bathed by delicious fountains, which in those countries cooled the oppressive heat of summer, adorned by cypress and majestic trees, whose interwoven branches afforded shade in the most sultry weather, enamelled with a thousand fragrant flowers, this spot was rendered by its very charms the seat of voluptuousness, which the vicinity of the great heathen sanctuary in no wise tended to suppress. For the Pagan religion into which the Spirit of holiness entered not, and which appealed to the senses through the refinement of art, gave by its forms of worship, and its mythical tales, an increased stimulus to the passions, instead of teaching mankind the way to subdue them. Gallus Cæsar, therefore, during his government over this part of the East, had been induced by the zeal of the Christians, to remove thither the bones of Babylas, bishop of Antioch, who had suffered martyrdom in the Decian persecution, and to erect on the spot a chapel consecrated to his memory, in order to counteract the idolatry and vice, which had there so long exercised undisputed dominion.

The recollections called forth by the tombs of holy men, and their powerful influence on the mind, Chrysostom describes in these words: "Next to the good which holy men have effected by their words, is the emulation awakened by their tombs in the souls of those, who contemplate them. He who standeth by the coffin of a martyr faileth not to experience this influence; a remembrance of the departed taketh possession of his soul, and raiseth it to such a tone, as if the saint himself stood there and prayed with him. Filled with pious zeal, he departeth an altered man;" and in allusion

to the impression created by the Martyr's chapel, on whose site every excess had formerly been committed, he says: "He, who proceeding to the Daphnean grove, from the suburb, beholdeth the Martyr's chapel, is filled with religious thoughts by the sight, and the image of the saint hovereth before him. He hasteneth to the Martyr's coffin; when he arriveth there, feelings of veneration overpower him; and, laying aside every idle thought, he departeth with a new and regenerate Spirit. Those, who come forth from the city in this serious mood, the Martyr sendeth to the refreshment of the Daphnean grove; all but calling to them in the words of the Psalmist: 'Rejoice with trembling;' or in those of St. Paul: 'Whether ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.' Should any be betrayed into excess, the Martyr permitteth them not to return thus degraded home; but receiveth them within his habitation, and leadeth them back to sobriety through the sacred awe instilled into their minds. For an ether seemeth to float around those who are within the Martyr-chapel; no earthly air, but one which penetrateth the inmost soul; emancipateth it from the sin which beareth it down to earth; and guide thit to a truerest."

When the Emperor Julian, animated by fanatic zeal in the cause of heathenism, endeavoured in the year A. D. 362, to re-establish the worship of the Daphnean Apollo, and inquired of the priests, wherefore the oracle was silent? Whether deceived themselves, or seeking to deceive, they answered: "on account of the vicinity of the dead." This reply induced the superstitious emperor to disinter the bones of the Martyr, which were borne in triumph by the Christians amid songs of praise to ano-

Lib. Sanct.
Babyl. Tom.
II. 1. 557.

Psalm II.
11.

1 Cor. X.
31.

ther spot. The Temple of Apollo being shortly after burnt to the ground, it was looked upon by many Christians to be a divine punishment, and a victory of the displaced Martyr.

These events, which drew the attention of the Antiochians still more towards Babybas, caused Chrysostom to compose his work upon the martyr. Therein he justly comments upon the impotency of every attack from the enemies of Christianity, who, like Celsus, employed against the sacred cause the arms of wit and talent, in an age when the church had to sustain the heaviest assaults from without, and when the learning of later times stood not arrayed in its defence: "Vain," says he, "is every effort to defend a cause in itself corrupt and false; but if the cause be good and true, vain shall be all the inventions of its enemies to overthrow it; for the power of truth needeth no aid.' Should even thousands seek to extinguish it, not only will it not be extinguished, but deriding the vain strife and rage of its foes, it will rise more glorious and sublime through the very efforts of those, who attempt its destruction; for our religion, which ye call a fable, kings and emperors, unvanquished orators, philosophers, and evil spirits have sought to destroy, and their attacks have been like the darts of children. The writings of ingenious philosophers and eloquent rhetoricians against Christianity have for the most part perished in their birth, or if any of them yet remain, they have been preserved by the Christians themselves. But as far as your religion is concerned, no one hath fought against it; FOR TO PUT DOWN FALSE CREEDS BY EXTERNAL POWER IS NOT PERMITTED TO THE CHRISTIANS: BY PERSUASION, BY CONVICTION, AND BY LOVE ALONE, MAY THEY

WORK TOWARDS THE SALVATION OF MANKIND.

Wherefore no Christian emperor hath enacted such laws against you, as the idolaters against us." When Chrysostom wrote this, he could not have remembered,—or perhaps he knew it not,—that the Emperor Constantine in the latter part of his reign and the Emperor Constantius with greater severity,—the last even by penalty of death,—had forbidden the offering up of sacrifices; and consequently had acted contrary to that, which Chrysostom declares to be the true Christian principle. But never were the measures of Christian emperors for the suppression of heathen worship to be compared with the persecution of heathen emperors against the Christian Church. For the Christian emperors never sought to constrain the heathen to the renunciation of their creed, or to the confession of Christianity. Their laws were directed only against certain outward actions, such as the performance of sacrifices. The observation of Chrysostom concerning the conduct of the Christian emperors is just, if viewed with reference to those, who reigned after Julian down to this period; for the immediate successors of the Emperor Julian probably considered it advisable to appease by toleration the minds of the heathen, which had received a new impulse from the short dominion they had regained; as they might easily have learnt from the experience of the times following the reign of Constantius, that the Christian Church was least benefited by measures of violence. The Emperor Valentinian even in the commencement of his reign had by a law granted an universal and unconditional religious liberty;¹ and

¹ "Unicuique, quod animo imbibisset, colendi libera facultas tributa."

by another law, afterwards, in A. D. 371, he had declared, that the exercise of any religion tolerated in the old Roman State should not be regarded as a crime. Theodosius, at that time reigning in the east, proceeded indeed more vehemently towards the suppression of the heathen worship; but as he first employed extreme severity for this purpose A. D. 321, it is easy to explain why Chrysostom could write thus, in one of the early years of his reign. In this passage he also discovered himself an adversary to the employment of force in religious affairs, and by this truly Christian Spirit he afterwards distinguished himself above many of his cotemporaries.¹ He set forth the contrast between Christianity and heathenism, the former extending itself through its divine power, and rising highest, when most assailed; the latter sinking, when unsupported by external circumstances; on which occasion he gives us some remarkable information upon the state of the heathen worship in his time: "When the imperial throne is filled by one, whose sentiments are unfavourable to heathenism, we behold on entering the temples of idolatry, cobwebs extended every where on the walls, and the idols so covered with dust, that neither eyes, nor nose, nor any other feature of the face can be discerned. The altars stand in ruins, and their remains are

Lib. in
Sanct. Ba-
byl. Tom.
II. f. 548.

¹ Among those, who in this age raised the voice of truth upon this point was Isidorus of Pelusium. He writes to a bishop, lib. iii. ep. 363. "Since it seemeth not good forcibly to draw over to the faith those, who are gifted with a free will, employ at the proper time conviction, and by thy life enlighten those, who are in darkness." And in another letter, lib. iii. ep. 370, he complains, that those, who boast themselves to be the disciples of the meek one, and soldiers of the heavenly king, frightened away, by their overbearing demeanour, persons, whom the first champions of the gospel would have overcome by their gentleness, and would have known how to bring over to a willing obedience.

encircled so entirely by the long grass, that he, who did not know them to be altars, would mistake them for a dunghill. The cause of it is, that in former times it was permitted to the idolaters to rob as much as they chose, and to feast under the pretence of venerating their idols. But wherefore should they now exert themselves? Far different on the other hand is it with our cause. For if a Christian ascend the Imperial throne, the Christian zeal seemeth to decline; so far is Christianity from being advanced through honour conferred by men; but when an impious man becometh our ruler, persecuting us on all sides, and besetting us with a thousand evils, our church riseth in greater glory; then is the hour of victory; then is the courage of the Christian awakened." He says, that in a few towns only idolatry still prevails, and that in them it is supported by the influence of the richer citizens: "These are the props of idolatry, drunkenness and feasting by day and by night, flutes and drums, the liberty of indulging in licentious language with shameless audacity, and of committing deeds still more licentious. This indecent extravagance yet upholdeth the tottering fabric of idolatry. For the richer citizens, selecting those, who from idleness are perishing with hunger, retain them in the rank of parasites and of dogs, which feed around their tables; they nourish them with the remnants of their iniquitous feasts, and render them subservient to their purposes. But we, who detest your folly and iniquity, feed not those who hunger from idleness; but we exhort every man to work not only for himself, but for others. We permit the maimed alone to receive, from the wealthy, the necessary means of subsistence."

Idem. f.
548.

Although Chrysostom relates the history of

the martyr according to the popular tradition, with which much of error was probably blended, his work is replete with enlightened remarks, particularly upon Christian morality. According to this tradition, Babylas had refused to an emperor, professing Christianity, but stained with innocent blood, admittance into the church.¹ Chrysostom gives the following opinion respecting the martyr's conduct on that occasion: "Not only must we admire the sincerity of the man, but also the moderation with which it was tempered; for it is the wisdom of Christ alone, which causeth men to observe in conflicts a just discretion. He might have gone further: having resolved to hazard his life, he might have assailed the emperor with words of insult, he might have torn the diadem from his head. He acted not thus: for his soul was seasoned with spiritual salt, wherefore in nowise did he rashly yield to temporary impulse, but, in every respect, with due consideration and discretion, he first proved his thoughts by the divine law; and though it may sound strange, I admire not so much his contempt of the tyrant's rage, as the just moderation he preserved. That this latter is more worthy of admiration is manifest, because we find many, who have overcome the former, and yet by not having preserved a just moderation have suffered themselves to be vanquished. Even ordinary men can speak sincerely, albeit, without judgment, but to act thus, when it is necessary, at the right time, with just moderation and reason, requireth a truly great soul." He then compares the martyr, animated by the spirit of active Christian love, with the proud Cynic. If, in

Lib. de
Sanct. Ba-
byl. Tom.
II. f. 546.

¹ Probably a confusion between the persons of Decius and his predecessor, Philippus Arabs.

this comparison between heathenism and Christianity, Chrysostom treat that conduct with too great contempt, which by the standard of antiquity is deemed great ; yet, in enumerating the features of Cynical philosophy, he justly remarks the absence of that love and humility, by which the Christian is cleansed from his inherent selfishness, and rendered like unto God. As a contrast with cynical conceit he brings forward Christian love working in humility and ever ready to deny itself for the sake of others. He observes, that : “ it behoveth a good man in all his actions to have a regard for the general welfare, and by his example to maintain men in the right path ; but what city, what family, what man, what woman, hath been saved by one man requesting another not to stand between him and the sun ? ” Much, however, which he here advances against cynical philosophy and exertions not animated by charity,¹ might, with equal justice, be applied to the exercise of monastic mortification. He represents the conduct of Babylas, as an example for all Christians : “ By this conduct the good man awed infidels, and confirmed the faith of believers ; for not to private individuals alone, but to soldiers, generals, and governors, he testified, that with the Christians, when a transgression of the divine law demanded punishment, the emperor and the slave were but names, and that he, who wore the diadem, was no more to be respected than the lowest individual. He taught to Christians the doctrine, that, in his calling, every man ought to perform his part, although at the moment he were

¹ § 8. A good man must do all things with reference to the common good, and endeavour to work for the improvement of others.

unable to effect any good thereby ; for Babylas also, at that time, could not prevail by his sincerity with the emperor, yet was he remiss in nought, which the fulfilment of his duty required."

Among the works which Chrysostom composed, while yet a deacon, for the comfort and edification of his Christian brethren, are his two "Treatises upon Contrition,"¹ both of which

¹ To inquire into the time, at which Chrysostom composed these two treatises, and determine their chronological relationship to each other by their internal evidence, is attended with many difficulties ; for Chrysostom was not among those in whose lives important periods are strongly marked by great crises, and by general or particular changes of opinion, as, for example, was the life of Augustine. In his tranquil and even progress, the same feelings and ideas prevail from his first to his last writings.

The subject of these two treatises is well suited to his residence among the monks, and the following passage : " *ὅτε γὰρ πρῶην ἐγὼ ἐγνώκειν τὴν πόλιν ἄφεις ἐπὶ τὰς σκηνὰς τῶν μοναχῶν ἔλθειν,*" etc. would seem to speak for its having been written at that period ; but that passage, wherein speaking of those, who admitted unworthy persons to baptism and the supper of the Lord, he uses the word " we," can hardly, according to the manner of speech in those days, be applied to a monk, who had only the rank of a reader. Montfaucon, indeed, says something to remove this difficulty. He appeals to the frequent use of the anakoinosis, in the living rhetoric of Chrysostom ; but the examples adduced by him are by no means suitable. When by the aid of the anakoinosis, he places himself, as bishop, upon the same footing with laymen ; as monk, with men of the world ; yet it is not the same thing as an humble reader and monk, speaking in the person of a presbyter or bishop. We should, therefore, understand by the word *πρῶην*, which must always be relative, some rather distant period. We may sooner allow Chrysostom to speak as deacon, because the deacons had some share in the administration of the sacraments. At least Chrysostom himself calls upon the deacons towards the end of his Hom. in Matt. LXXXII. not to admit the unworthy to a participation in the communion : " In distinguishing the worthy from the unworthy," he says, " your true honour and dignity consisteth, — not in your going about with a splendid garb thrown

contain many salutary truths, which, but for him, would probably have not been preached in those days. In the first of these treatises, composed at the request of his friend Demetrius, he deprecated the state of spiritual security, in which he observed many to be sunk, and endeavoured to bring them to a conviction of their sinfulness and estrangement from God, as a necessary step to amendment. He considered one of the chief causes of this dangerous security to be a prevailing belief, that in the abstaining from certain notorious vices, and in the outward fulfilment of certain duties, men had performed enough, although they remained ignorant of the spiritual holiness, which finds favor in the sight of God. He complained, that when reminded of the severe duties enjoined in the sacred writings; they tranquillized their consciences by reflecting: "that the expressions of scripture were exaggerated,—not intended to be taken literally,—only thus threatening to deter men from evil."¹ He therefore called upon them to prove themselves according to the demands of the divine law, and for this purpose drew their attention to some of the precepts in the sermon on the mount, as: "Whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause, shall be in danger of the judgment." In combatting on this occasion the error of those, who, after the manner of the heathen, continued to make distinctions between man and man, he shewed, that Christians owed the same duties to

Lib. de
Compunct.
I. Tom. I.
f. 125.

Matt.V. 22.

around you." Since most of his shorter practical treatises were composed, while he was a deacon, these two may well be added to that number. Still, he may have written them as Presbyter.

¹ Ἐπι πολλων πολλοι τουτο πασχουσι και τα παντως ἐκβησομενα ἱπερβολικως εἰρῆσθαι νομιζουσι.

Lib. de
Compunct.
I. Tom. I.
f. 126.

Gal. III.
28.

Matt. V.
23, 24.

all men : “ Thou art not only to consider, as thy brother, the freeman, and him, who is of an equal rank with thyself, but also the slave ; for, according to the apostle : ‘ there is neither bond nor free, being all one in Christ Jesus.’ We shall therefore subject ourselves to the same punishment, if without a cause we be incensed against the slave ; FOR HE LIKEWISE IS OUR BROTHER, HAVING BEEN DEEMED WORTHY OF TRUE FREEDOM.” To prove that the Christian is bound to reconcile himself with every one, he cites the words of Christ : “ Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee ; leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way ; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.” And in allusion to an ancient custom, immediately before the celebration of the holy communion, according to which a deacon with a loud voice cried out in the assembly : *μη τις κατα τινος* ; hath any one aught against another ? and all were enjoined to impart to each other the kiss of Christian fraternity ; he complained, that, although the remembrance of this divine command was retained among the forms of Christian worship, the charity and love, signified by the ceremony, were little practised in real life : “ We retain the symbol, but its spirit we have lost. We impart to each other the fraternal kiss, when the holy supper is distributed, but the greater number perform it with their lips alone. That is not what the Lord willeth. We should give to our neighbour the fraternal kiss, the only true one, which cometh from the heart. The former is an exhibition and a mockery, by which we incense, rather than conciliate, God. God demandeth of us a pure and deeply-rooted

love, not that, of which we carry about with us much outward show, and whose real spirit we have lost." He observes, how destructive vanity is, even to things in themselves good; how it blends itself with prayer, fasting, and alms,¹ which then cease to be acceptable to God. He adverts particularly to the sin of pronouncing a severe and uncalled-for judgment upon others: "Towards the sins of others, we appear, as severe judges, while to our own 'beams' we are blind. Our whole life is consumed in interfering with the concerns of others, and condemning their actions, and there is scarcely a layman or a monk free from this sin, although a heavy punishment is denounced against it; for the Lord saith: 'With what judgment ye judge, ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.'" He then proceeds to the saying of

Idem. f. 130.

Matt. VII.
2.

¹ We, find during this period, many traces of such hypocrisy in the giving of alms, in censure of which Ambrosius of *Mayland* says: "God requireth not money, but faith. What profit is there in dispensing wealth, without the grace of love? There are some, who, only for the sake of ostentation, desire the reputation of being generous, so that by keeping nothing for themselves, they may acquire the applause of the multitude; there are others, who after they have, in a momentary ebullition of feeling, and not from mature consideration, presented their riches to the church, afterwards take them back." *Quid prodest collatio patrimonii sine gratia caritatis? Sunt qui ad jactantiam solam decorem largitatis affectant, ut eo se probatos vulgo videri velint, quod sibi nihil reliquerint. Sunt, qui opem, tumultuario mentis impulsu, non judicio perpetuo, ubi ecclesiae contulerunt, postea revocandam putarunt. De pœnitentia, lib. ii. c. 9.* In the last case, pious bishops not only returned the property, which had been presented to the church in all due form, but, if from feelings of shame the donor offered any other thing, as an equivalent, they also voluntarily restored it, in order to show, that God and the church were only served by the gifts of free love. Such was the conduct of *Augustin*. *Vid. vita auctor. Possidio, c. 21.*

Christ: "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine," and he applies it both to bishops, who from vanity and irrational ambition,—¹perhaps from a desire to gain the reputation of having converted and baptised a multitude,—admitted to baptism² corrupt and unbelieving men, without examining into their religious opinions; and to communicants, who, without a previous self-examination, pressed forward to a participation of the Holy Sacrament. He represents the effects produced by the true love of Christ in that beautiful and striking manner, which a heart, influenced by the emotions of such a love, could alone suggest; and then from observing, how rarely these effects are seen in human life, he concludes that that love does not exist. After enumerating the sufferings and dangers, which St. Paul endured with rejoicing, Chrysostom says: "His love for Christ effected these things; wherefore he saith: 'in all these things we are more than conquerors through him that loved us.' And marvel not; for if our love to man often produce contempt of death, what should not our love to Christ effect? What difficulties should it not render light? Thus to the apostle did every thing seem easy to endure; because he regarded Christ alone; loved him alone; and to suffer every thing on his account, he

Idem. f.
136.

Rom. VIII.
37.

¹ Ὑπο κενοδοξίας, και φιλοτιμίας ἀλογου.

² Such were those men, who lowered very much the practical requisites of the Catechumens, in order not to deter them from being baptised; because they considered, that if such persons once believed and were baptised, there would afterwards be time, duly to inculcate into their minds the more needful duties of a Christian. In opposition to which perverted proceeding, Augustine wrote his book "de fide et operibus."

held higher, as indeed it is, than the enjoyment of all worldly bliss. He deemed himself no longer upon earth, no longer in the present life, no longer dwelling among men, as though he were already in heaven, and lived with angels; as though he had received the kingdom, and beheld the Almighty face to face, he despised the joys and sorrows of earthly existence. Of no price to him was that repose, which is our constant aim. But he exclaimed: 'Even unto this present hour, we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling place, and labour, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we intreat: we are made as the filth of the earth, and are the offscouring of all things unto this day;' for once having raised the eye of his soul to heaven, and having been transported by its divine beauty, he could not endure to return to earth. But as some indigent wretched man, ever accustomed to a low obscure abode, were he to behold a king resplendent in gold and jewels, would no longer take thought of his own humble habitation, but would, if possible, make every effort to enter the palace; in like manner this holy man, having viewed heavenly things, despised our poverty below, and although in his body still bound to earth, his spirit dwelt in its celestial home. And what do I say, that he despised the sufferings of this present life? So inspired was he by a love of Christ, that had it been proposed to him to suffer eternal punishment for the sake of Christ, he would not have refused to endure it; for he served the Lord not, as we hirelings serve him, from a fear of hell, and from a desire of future bliss; but animated by a far more

1 Cor. IV.
11—13.

noble and blessed longing, he suffered and accomplished all, for the love of Christ alone; and with such power had this love taken possession of his soul, that he would have been ready to sacrifice that, which to him was above all things dear, the being with Christ, on whose account he despised both hell and the kingdom of heaven, and for whose sake he would have regarded as desirable, such an unspeakable fall. Perhaps what I now say, may appear obscure; but if I speak it more plainly, it will seem incredible to those, to whom it before appeared obscure. No wonder, that the holy man expected unbelief. Wherefore he said by way of preparation: 'I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost.' And, notwithstanding the invocation of such witnesses, he still seemeth to speak that, which is incredible. Hear what he saith. After having spoken of the sufferings of this world, and having said: 'Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?' And after having enumerated all earthly things, he ascendeth to heaven, and to prove, that there is nothing great in despising temporal afflictions for the sake of Christ, he addeth: 'neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.' His meaning is this. Not only shall men not be able to separate me from this love, but not even the angels, and, should even all the powers of heaven unite, they shall not prevail. What do I

Rom. X.

Rom. VIII.
35.Rom. VIII.
38, 39.

say? And were I, for the sake of Christ, to lose the kingdom of heaven; were I, for the sake of Christ, compelled to sink into hell, even this would not be dreadful to me. He saith not this, as if angels could seek to separate him from Christ, but he supposeth for the moment, things, which are impossible, in order to make manifest to all, the mighty love, with which his soul was filled. For such is the manner of those, who love; they cannot in silence restrain their love; to every friend they impart the flame, tranquillizing their souls by the constant expression of their feelings." Chrysostom then censures the excuse frequently alleged in defence of spiritual inactivity, when examples of Christian holiness were held up for imitation: "When the lives of the Apostles are cited, and their excellence set forth, it would be well, were we to lament the great difference between us and them, instead of which we continue in carelessness, as if it were not possible for us to soar to such a height; and if the reason of our acting thus be demanded, we advance this foolish excuse: 'He was Paul, he was Peter, he was John;' which mode of reasoning would be seeking a sanction for immorality, not patterns for imitation; and in the end would lead us to select these holy men as intercessors, instead of looking up to them, as bright examples for our own lives. Chrysostom therefore sought to deprive men of such a pretext, and to prove by such instances the elevation, which human nature can attain: "What meaneth," continues Chrysostom, 'he was Paul, he was John?' Say then, had not these holy men the same nature in common with ourselves? Came they not into the world in the same way as we did? Were they not nourished with the same food?

Idem.f.136.
38.

Did they not breathe the same air? Had not some of them wives and children? Did not many of them carry on the various trades of life? Were they not influenced by the same ties and interests? Were there not those among them who had even been sunk in the abyss of crime? But ye say, that these men were largely endowed with the divine grace. That excuse might avail, were it required of us to raise the dead, to open the eyes of the blind, to cleanse the lepers, to make the lame walk, to cast out devils, and to heal other similar diseases by miracles. But how can it hold good in the examination of our works, and the proving of our obedience? Thou also hast received in Baptism the divine grace; hast obtained a share of the Holy Spirit; if not to work miracles, yet sufficient to lead a godly life; this perversion of mind therefore originated solely in our indolence. And Christ awardeth not at the last day an unconditional recompense to those, who have performed miracles, but to those who have obeyed his commandments; for he saith not: 'Come ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;' because ye performed miracles; but because 'I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me;' and in his enumeration of the blessed he nowhere nameth those, who perform miracles, but those who lead a godly life. Therefore, that this gift of grace no longer is bestowed on man, can neither be to our prejudice, nor will it afford us an excuse, when we shall have to render an ac-

Matt. XXV.
35, 36.
Matt. V. 3.
—12.

count of our actions. For we venerate not those holy men on account of their miracles,—that being solely a work of divine power;—but because they led lives pure as those of the angels; and this, through divine assistance, was the work of their own free will. I speak not this of my own authority; but it was asserted by him, who was far advanced in the imitation of Christ; for when Paul, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, combateth the false apostles, and seeketh to draw a distinction between the true and false service of Christ, he commenceth not by setting forth miracles, but good works; for he saith, ‘Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool,) I am more; in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Beside those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches. Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?’ On account of these things do I admire the Apostles; for those, to whom it was permitted, without such things, to perform miracles, for certain purposes which providence chose through them to attain, were not only undeserving of admiration, but will be rejected as false, as Christ himself declareth: saying,

2 Cor. xi.
23—29.

Matt. VII.
22, 23.

Luke X. 20.

‘ Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in thy name? and in thy name have cast out devils? and in thy name done many wonderful works? and then will I profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from me, ye that work iniquity.’ Wherefore likewise he thus exhorted his disciples: ‘ In this rejoice not, that the spirits are subject unto you; but rather rejoice, because your names are written in heaven.’ A holy and upright conduct, without miracles, will acquire for you the crown of eternal life, and by the absence of miracles will not be rendered less efficacious. A sinful life on the contrary, although accompanied by miracles, will not escape punishment. Such reasoning then is superfluous, and not alone is it superfluous, but it is even perilous; weak points being created thereby for the attacks of heretics.¹ Had these holy men become thus excellent only through the grace of Christ without their own free-will, what prevented all men from having become like unto them? If the divine grace did not first require the efforts of our own will, it would at once have been poured into every soul; for God is no respecter of persons. Because he willeth that we should perform our part, his grace abideth with one, and departeth from another.” He however opposes the error of those among his cotemporaries, who made atonement and contrition to consist in certain outward usages, by which no real change could be wrought in the inward

¹ Those namely, who like the Manichæans and many of the Gnostics, derive the moral distinctions of the human character and the opposite courses of life pursued by men, not from man’s own free will, but from an original fundamental difference of natures, originating in the distinct materials of which they were composed.

man, and which could only have a meaning, when they were the spontaneous expression of profound grief: "To cover ourselves with sackcloth, to seclude ourselves within a narrow chamber, to sit in darkness, this alone is not to mourn; but ever to carry about with us the remembrance of our sins, to search our consciences, and constantly to measure the length of the way, which separateth us from the kingdom of heaven." He then again distinguishes that repentance, which springs from love, and which constitutes pure Christian contrition, from that which is founded upon a fear of hell, such as existed in the bondage under the discipline of the law. "If even eternal punishment awaited us not, to be estranged from Christ, the benign, the merciful, who for us gave himself up unto death, who suffered all things, to save us from condemnation, and to reconcile us to his Father, with whom we were at enmity through our sins, although we were not to be excluded from the unspeakable and immortal joys prepared for us, is alone more dreadful than all punishments, and sufficient to awaken souls and preserve them in constant watchfulness."

Idem.f.139.

Idem.f.140.

The same thoughts are contained in the second treatise upon this subject addressed to Stelechius. In this treatise he again alludes to the powerful influence of the love of God and Christ, such as inspired the apostles, and contrasts the purity of Christian love with the venality of the bondsman: "What sayest thou, wretched, narrow-minded man? a work pleasing to God awaiteth thy performance, and thou standest thinking upon a reward? Suppose, if thou perform it, that thou wert to be cast into hell, shouldst thou therefore draw back, and not rather fully accomplish the good work? Dost

Lib. de
Compunct.
II. f. 150.

thou perform a work pleasing to God, and seek another reward? Truly thou knowest not how blessed a thing it is to please God, for, if thou didst, thou wouldst set it above every other recompense." This treatise is at the same time remarkable for many original observations, worthy of being treasured up in the mind. Among them we find a warning against confessions of sinfulness, which proceed not from a contrite heart; but either consist in studied forms or originate in momentary ebullitions of feeling:

Idem.f.151.

"When we call ourselves sinners, we speak not with sincerity. This is evident: for when we are thus named by others, we become incensed and consider ourselves insulted. All therefore with us is hypocrisy." How far Chrysostom was, even at this early period of his life, from attaching too great a value to monkhood, and from prizing a mere retirement from the world,—how entirely his attention was directed to the heart,—we may perceive from the following

Idem.f.144.

words: "Let us not only seek that solitude, which is afforded by the spot, but likewise, that, which consisteth in the disposition of the mind; and, above all, let us lead the soul into that true solitude. For thus David, though dwelling in a great city, administering the affairs of a kingdom, and surrounded by a thousand cares, was more warmly inspired by the love of Christ, than were the monks in the wilderness."

Chrysostom had probably composed his work upon the Priesthood, before he became engaged in the duties of the ministry. We discover therein his views of the dignity of this profession, and the difficulty of fulfilling its duties, combined with many practical truths, which he pronounced in opposition to the prevailing errors and abuses of his age. With re-

gard to the relation existing between the active minister of the church and the ascetic, who lives solely for his own edification, he says, "A bishop should be acquainted with all the affairs of life in no less a degree than those who are placed amid the traffick of the world, and yet be more estranged from them, than are the monks dwelling upon the mountains. The ascetic discipline of the monk is dependent upon strength of body: the virtues of the bishop have their dwelling in the soul, and can flourish under every condition of body and independent of external circumstances. I grant, that the Monk, who exciteth admiration by living in solitude, and avoiding intercourse with men, giveth proof of endurance, but I cannot concede that he sufficiently manifesteth the courage of the soul; for he, who sitteth at the helm within the harbour giveth no certain proof of his dexterity, but he who saveth the vessel amid the ocean and the tempest, must be acknowledged to be the best pilot." He remarks with justice, that much evil may remain concealed within the mind of the recluse, which is not brought into action from the absence of an adequate cause: "That inactivity and indifference, which some regard as laudable asceticism, I consider to be a cloak of worthlessness."

Lib. de
Sacerd. VI.
f. 425.

Idem. f. 427.

Although Chrysostom was opposed to a separation of the clergy and laity within the Christian church, he was not divested of the idea of an outward and visible priesthood, inconsistent with the purity of the primitive church; which idea, since the third century, by erroneously transferring the spirit of Jewish institutions to those of Christianity, and through too poetical a view of the dignity of the ecclesiastical order, had become more and more prevalent. Chry-

sostom considered the priest as a mediator between God and man ; between the invisible and the visible world, the organ by which heavenly powers were imparted to earth ; whereas, according to the evangelical doctrine, only one such Mediator exists, through whom God and man, heaven and earth, are for ever united, and through whom the divine Spirit is bestowed on human nature ; and every Christian alike in virtue of his faith in this one Mediator, and through his union with the same, can and ought to become an instrument, by which the divine Spirit is manifested. Chrysostom, however, unlike many of his cotemporaries, asserted not the dignity of the priesthood for the purpose of excusing the inactivity of the clergy, in reliance upon a supernatural power connected with their office ; but, in opposition to such a prejudice, to enhance the qualifications and duties required by that holy charge. When some declared all study preparatory to the ecclesiastical state to be superfluous ; placed the essentials of the sacerdotal office rather in the performance of certain ceremonies of a supposed supernatural influence, than in the edification and instruction of the congregation ; and appealed to the fact of the apostles having been unlearned men, Chrysostom replied : “ If a man possessed the sword of the Spirit and the shield of faith, which would enable him to work miracles, and to silence the profane by wonders, he would not need the aid of the word ; but even then it would not be useless,—nay, very necessary ; for the blessed Paul wielded the word, although every where marvelled at on account of his miracles. Another also of that holy choir exhorteth us carefully to cultivate this talent, saying : ‘ Be ready always to give an answer to every man

that asketh you a reason of the hope that is in you.' And for no other reason did the disciples, with one consent, entrust the widows to Stephen, than that they might devote their time to the ministry of the word. We should not indeed require in an equal degree the assistance of the word, if we possessed the power of working miracles. But now that no vestige of that power remaineth, and enemies from all sides press upon us; we must defend ourselves with the weapons of the word." When also these advocates of ecclesiastical ignorance demanded: "Wherefore did not Paul endeavour to acquire this virtue, and wherefore was he not ashamed of his want of eloquence, but openly confessed himself to be rude in speech, even when writing to the Corinthians, who were admired for their eloquence, and who held that art in great esteem?" Chrysostom answered: "This manner of reasoning hath ruined most men, and rendered them careless concerning the true doctrine. Not being able clearly to comprehend the depth of the apostle's thoughts, nor to understand the sense of his words, they gave themselves up to an intellectual slumber, and valued themselves upon an ignorance very different from that, which Paul ascribed to himself, and one, from which he was further removed than any man under heaven. And even grant, that this ignorance could be ascribed to him, what would it prove with regard to men now living? For he possessed a power far greater and more efficient than the word. Do not you tremble to compare yourself with such a man? For if we turn aside from his miracles to contemplate his holy life, we shall behold the soldier of Christ gaining more victories by his heavenly conduct than by

I Peter III.
25.

his miracles. These persons,—and with reason,—not only call him ignorant, who is unversed in the vain eloquence of the world, but him likewise, who is unable to combat for the doctrine of truth. The apostle, however, speaketh of his ignorance only in the former sense. Say, by what means did he confound the Jews dwelling at Damascus ; for at that time he had not begun to work miracles ? By what means did he overcome the Grecians ? Wherefore was he sent to Tarsus ? Was it not because he was powerfully triumphant through the word ? By what means did he combat and dispute with those at Antioch, who sought to compel the Gentiles to live, as did the Jews ? Was it not from his preaching alone that he was followed by the Areopagite and his wife, citizens of that most superstitious city ? Wherefore did the Lycaonians deem him to be Mercury ? For their being regarded as gods was the effect of their miracles ; but the belief that Paul was Mercury was not the effect of miracles, but of the word. By what means did this blessed man become distinguished above the other Apostles ; and on what account is he most admired not only by us, but also by the Jews and heathen ? Is it not from the strength of his Epistles ? by which he not only sustained the faithful, who were then living, and those who have been from that time to the present hour, but those likewise, who shall be until the coming of Christ ; nor will he cease therefrom so long as the human race endureth. For as a wall of adamant, the writings of this man encircle the universal church, in the midst of which he even now standeth, like the bravest, noblest warrior, “ bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ, and cast-

ing down imaginations and every thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God.”

2 Cor. x. 5.

While Chrysostom recommended the study of public preaching to the clergy upon strong grounds, he censured the common error of considering the preacher as a mere orator, and in the great cities where Grecian civilization prevailed, of regarding the discourses of the clergy in the same light as the declamations of the sophists. He observed that: “the greater part of the congregation receive not the preacher as an instructor, but, forgetful that they are disciples, conduct themselves like spectators at the heathen games; the multitude dividing itself into factions, some declaring in favour of this, others in favour of that man, and listening to the discourse in a state of mind varying according to their different predilections.” And again in the same book: “Know ye not what a passion for public discourses hath now possessed the souls of the Christians; and that they who exercise the art of oratory, are held in the greatest esteem, not only by the heathen, but likewise by the Christians?” While he pointed out the manner in which a bishop ought to defend the true doctrine, he discovered an aversion, which he ever retained, to idle speculations: “What shall we say to the cavils of our own brethren? for they are numerous as the attacks from without; and they occasion still greater labour to the teacher. One man from inconsiderate curiosity rashly and vainly desireth to penetrate into those secrets, of which a knowledge can avail him nothing, and is not possible to be attained. Another demandeth of the teacher an account of God’s judgments, and compelleth him to measure the great deep; for as the Psalmist

Lib. de
Sacerd. V.
f. 415.

Lib. de
Sacerdot.
IV. f. 410.

saith : ‘ thy judgments, O Lord, are a great deep.’ Few are to be found earnest in faith and good works, but many who speculate upon things beyond their comprehension, a desire to search into which draweth down upon them the anger of God ; for if we would constrain a knowledge of those things, which God doth not choose us to know, we shall never discover them, (how indeed should it be possible, against the will of God,) and the striving thereafter will be perilous to us.” Chrysostom describes the difficulties connected with the office of Bishop and Pastor, many of which originated in the peculiar circumstances of the church at that period. All institutions providing for the care of the poor, the sick, the widows and the strangers, were under the inspection of the Bishop. In his judicial capacity he was called upon by his flock to adjust many civil differences ; and he was often solicited by the unfortunate to intercede in their behalf with the rich and powerful, and even with the emperor. “ Some of the weaker brethren,” says Chrysostom, “ whose affairs were in a sinking state, have become shaken in their faith, because they find no assistance. Many, who have suffered wrong, hate as much those from whom they receive not the expected redress, as those, by whom they have been injured : and they will neither take into account the lamentable condition of their own affairs, nor the tyranny of the times, nor the limits of the ecclesiastical power, nor any other consideration, but they are inexorable judges, having but one excuse, a desire to be relieved from the evils by which they are oppressed ; and he, who is unable to give them the required protection, though he assign a thousand reasons for his

Ps. XXXVI.
6.

Lib. de
Sacerd. III.
f. 401.

inability, will not escape their condemnation. Since I have alluded to these demands for assistance and protection, I will name to you another cause of complaint. If the bishop visit not families more frequently than do the idlers of the forum, he giveth unspeakable offence. Not only the sick, but also those in health desire to be visited, and certainly the greater part not so much from an interest in religion, as from vanity. But should it occasionally happen, that the bishop on some urgent affair for the common benefit of his flock frequently visits one of the rich and powerful, he fixeth upon himself the reputation of a flatterer. And wherefore should I dwell upon these things, when a mere address often giveth rise to such a weight of accusation, that the rulers of the church become disheartened and succumb from vexation. The bishop must render an account of his very looks, for the multitude sharply criticise his most unpremeditated acts. Upon one, they say, he hath bestowed many smiles, assumed towards him a friendly mien, addressed him in a loud voice; to us he spoke but a few words in passing by. And if, where many sit together, he direct not during his discourse his eyes to each individual, it is deemed an insult."

Chrysostom regarded the worldly passions and motives, which prevailed at this time among the clergy, as a source of great corruption, and he ascribed their prevalence to ecclesiastical appointments, which were almost exclusively determined by considerations foreign to the welfare of the church. Incapable and unworthy men were advanced to the episcopal dignity, and remained dependant upon those to whom they were indebted for their situations. Thus bishops became the slaves even of women, who

Lib. de
Sacerd. III.
f. 392.

possessed the power to appoint or to depose them: "Visit the assemblies on the great festivals, upon which, according to the ecclesiastical law, the dignitaries of the church are elected, and thou wilt see the candidate for the episcopal dignity charged with as many accusations, as there are members of the assembly; for all, in whose power it is to confer upon him the office, separate themselves into various parties; and the college of Presbyters is neither agreed in itself nor with him who hath been chosen, but each individual standeth apart, one choosing this, another that man. The reason is, that they do not exclusively look to that one point, which alone ought to be regarded the virtue of the soul; but they permit their choice to be swayed by other considerations. One exclaimeth, let this man be chosen, because his family is distinguished; another, that man, because he possesseth great riches, and needeth not to be supported by the revenues of the church; another, this man, because he hath come over from an adverse party; one man desireth his friend to be preferred, another, his relation, another, his parasite. No one looketh to him, who would be really efficient, or examineth into the spiritual state of the candidate. Others allege reasons still more vain; for some are admitted into the ecclesiastical order, from a fear that they should go over to the ranks of the enemy; others on account of their worthlessness, lest, being overlooked, they should work some great mischief." Chrysostom was, even at this period of his life, aware of the danger to which a devoted zeal for the kingdom of God exposed a man in the administration of the episcopal office. He was convinced that emergencies might arise, in which a conscien-

tious bishop must be prepared to make every sacrifice: "If a man," he says, "entertain an ambitious desire for such an office, it will become still stronger in him, if he actually obtain it; and this ambition once having seized his soul, he will bear with many evils, in order to maintain himself in his office, even at the price of flattery, or of enduring ignoble and unworthy things, or of spending much gold. Not to say, that many have filled the church with slaughter, and have ruined cities, in combatting for the possession of their dignity. While asserting this, I do not contend with that which the apostle Paul saith: 'This is a true saying, if a man desire the office of a bishop, he desireth a good work,' but I entirely agree with his words. For I deem it not evil, to strive after the office, but after the power and authority connected with it. I only say, that we should use every exertion to banish this passion from our souls, or rather that from the first we should not allow it to find an entrance therein; that we may on all occasions be able to act with freedom, for he who desireth not to shine in power, will not fear to be deposed; and he only who feareth not this, is able to act in all things with the freedom, which beseemeth a Christian. Those, on the other hand, who tremble with the fear of being displaced, must undergo a heavy bondage, will be overwhelmed with evils, and often constrained to offend both God and man. Not thus should our souls be affected, for as in war the brave soldier stoutly fighteth, and courageously falleth, so must he, who is elected to such an office, be ready to undertake or to resign it, as becometh a Christian, remembering that to be thus deposed, bringeth to him a crown as great as the dominion itself."

I Tim. III.
1.

APPENDIX TO PERIOD I.

I.—ON DEFERRING BAPTISM. Vid. p. 12.

Hom. ad.
Eph. VIII.

WE learn from various declarations of Chrysostom that Infant Baptism, although acknowledged by the Eastern Church to be necessary, was by no means general. In a sermon preached at Antioch, he says: “Most persons now neglect the Baptism of their servants, wives and children.” He frequently endeavoured to refute the reasons, which induced many in the East to defer the reception of Baptism. In a Homily which he preached at Constantinople, after having spoken upon the two-fold criminality of those who received Baptism, and afterwards returned to the service of sin, that he might not furnish men with an excuse for the postponement of that sacred rite, he added: “My words may perhaps deter many from being baptized. I have not spoken them with that intent, but that I might induce you to receive Baptism and maintain yourselves in wisdom, and much temperance. Ye say: ‘we fear.’ Had ye feared, ye would have received Baptism, and striven to have preserved yourselves without stain. Fear ye to receive baptism, and fear ye not thus to depart? Ye say: ‘God is full of love to man. Be then the less alarmed at receiving baptism. God in his love to man will assist you. Were ye in earnest,

Hom. in
Act. Apost.
I.

the love of God for man would not withhold you. Why, when ye delay, should this consideration have weight with you. The moment in which ye receive baptism is the fittest time to avail yourselves of this divine love ; and the surest means of gaining it, is to perform your duties.

Afterwards addressing those, who would defer baptism to the last moments of life, he says : “ Will not the heathen justly deride you, as useless, improvident drones ? If there be, say they, a divine power in your religion, tell us, what meaneth the multitude of persons unbaptized ? Baptism is a glorious sacrament, greatly to be desired, but let not a man receive it at the point of death ; for such is not the time to receive baptism, but to make a will. Sanity of mind and soberness of soul are requisite for baptism. Tell me then, if a man be in such a condition, that he cannot so much as make his will ; or in case of his making it, that he occasion thereby subsequent litigation ; and on this account it is customary to preface wills by the following words : ‘ Living, in my perfect senses, and in health, I dispose of my property,’ ¹ How can he, when no longer possessing a controul over his senses, be duly prepared for holy things ? ² For if human laws permit not a man, who is in an imperfect state of health, to settle worldly affairs, although it be his own property of which he would dispose ; how shall he, perhaps delirious from disease, be able to comprehend the instruction given you concerning the

¹ Ζων και φρονων και υγιαινων επισκηπτω περι των εμαντου.

² Μετα ακριβειας μυσταγωγεισθαι. The instruction preparatory to baptism was commonly called καταχησις μυσταγωγικη. The creed was first taught to those, who presented themselves for baptism,—the compentes, φωτιζομενοι.

unutterable blessings of the kingdom of heaven? How could ye, when on the point of departure, pronounce the words of allegiance to Christ? ¹ For ye have to prove to him your love by actions as well as by words. But [your conduct resembleth that of men who enlist as soldiers, when the war is on the point of closing; or that of gladiators, who strip themselves, when the spectators rise to leave the theatre. For ye take not up arms to depart instantly; but that having taken them up, ye may achieve a victory over the enemy. If ye still doubt that Christ be God, stand without; listen not to the divine word; nor number yourselves among the catechumens.² But if ye be convinced, and therefore confident, why tarry ye? Christ hath given baptism unto us, not that upon receiving it, we should depart; but that we may manifest the fruits thereof in our lives. And how can ye demand of a dying man; of the tree cut down—to bear fruit? Have ye not heard, that the fruits of the spirit are love, joy, and peace? How different a scene here presenteth itself! The consort standeth mourning, when she ought to rejoice; the children weep when they should offer gratulations; the sick man lieth with his

¹ He alludes to the obligatory form, which was used at baptism, and which was called by the early Christians the “*Sacramentum Militiæ Christianæ*,”—the oath militant, taken by the Christian soldier, whereby he declared himself ready to renounce the service of the evil one, and join the standard of Christ. “*Ἀποτασσομαι σοι, Σατανα, και πασι τοις ἀγγελοις σου και παση τη λατρεια, και παση τη πομπη σου και συντασσομαι σοι, Χριστε.*” I renounce thee, Satan, and all thy angels, and all thy service, and all thy pomp, and I range myself under thee, O Christ!

² The catechumens were permitted to be present at the first part of the so-called *missa catechumenorum*, extending to the prayers which preceded the communion.

sight becoming dim, filled with disquietude and perplexity, when he should celebrate the festival,—absorbed in grief for children soon to become orphans, for a wife soon to become a widow, for a family soon to be left desolate. Is this a condition in which to receive baptism? Can such things be suffered? Is this a condition in which to partake of the Holy Supper?¹ If the Emperor dispatch a letter proclaiming liberty to the captives, there is joy and gladness; but when God sendeth his spirit from heaven, not merely remitting a pecuniary debt, but pardoning every sin, ye weep and lament,—not to add, that the holy water is poured over the dead, and the sacred elements are thrown upon the ground.” He addressed some young people, upon whom he had conferred baptism, in the following words: “I laud your good disposition, that ye have not, after the manner of the careless, deferred the reception of baptism, until your latest breath; but that ye have now, like well-disposed servants, ready to obey their Lord, in much humility and cheerfulness, taken upon yourselves the easy yoke and light burden of Christ. For the careless receive baptism upon the bed of sickness; but ye receive it in the bosom of the church, our common mother. They receive it uttering lamentations and weeping; ye receive it with joy and gladness; they with sighs, ye with thanksgiving; they with minds darkened by disease, ye filled with spiritual joy. Whence everything here respondeth to the gracious gift; there all is at variance with it. Amid this scene of tumult and alarm, the priest entereth,

Ad Illumin.
Cateches. I.

¹ At this period a participation in the Holy Communion immediately followed the Sacrament of Baptism, whence arose Infant Communion.

more dreaded than the fever itself; to the kindred of the sick man more inexorable than death; for the entrance of the priest is deemed a greater cause for despair, than the voice of the physician which bereaveth the sick man of hope; and that, which should be the foundation of everlasting life, becometh the symbol of death. Nor have I yet alluded to the most dreadful circumstance of all. Not unfrequently hath the liberated soul left the body desolate, while the relations are busied preparing themselves for the sacred rite; or though the soul have been still united to the body, to many it hath availed nothing. For if he, who is about to be baptized, recognize not those present; hear not the voice of those around him; be unable to pronounce the words, by which he shall affirm the blessed covenant with our common Lord; and lie as a helpless block of wood or stone, nothing differing from a dead man,—what profiteth baptism in such a state of unconsciousness?” Again, in a sermon preached at Constantinople, he says: “If any one sin in the hope of receiving baptism at his last breath, he will oftentimes fail of receiving it. And think not, that I speak thus to terrify you; for I have known many, who, having greatly sinned in the hope of receiving baptism at last, in the day of their end departed unbaptized. Take heed, lest to us be applied the words: ‘Let us do evil, that good may come.’ Wherefore I exhort you, ye unbaptized, to be watchful. Let no one be weary in well-doing, like a man constrained or labouring for hire, as though virtue were a thing difficult and burthensome. Let us strive after it with zeal and gladness. I will be bold to say, that ye will never be virtuous, even when ye seek virtue, if ye be virtuous for the sake of reward;

Hom. ad
Hebr. XIII.

Rom. III. 8.

for ye hold virtue of no account, if ye love it not for its own sake." Other illustrious fathers of the Church recommend infant baptism in similar words. Gregory Nazianzen says: "Thou fearest to give thy children the impress of the sacred seal, on account of the weakness of their nature. How narrow-minded a mother, and of how little faith art thou! Hannah vowed to dedicate her son to God, before he was born; and, as soon as he was born, she consecrated him, and attired him in a priest's garment. She feared not human weakness, but trusted in the power of God." Since so many put off baptism to the end of their lives, a vast multitude were wont to demand that sacred rite in urgent and unexpected perils, in earthquakes and in the calamities of war. Chrysostom relates that on the occasion of an earthquake at Constantinople, every one hastened to be baptized,—a momentary impression, which he complains was too soon effaced: "Remember ye not," said he, "the things which have come to pass even in our own days? Say, did not God last year shake the whole city? Did not every one hasten to be baptized? Did not courtezans and libertines, leaving their houses, and the places in which they consumed their time;—repent and become serious; and after the lapse of three days did they not return to their former iniquities? Such is human nature, and so soon do we forget the blessings conferred upon us by God." Upon the occurrence of some sudden calamity at Antioch, probably an earthquake, many thousands were baptized, who had received no religious instruction. In like manner Gregory of Nyssa: "If an earthquake, a famine, or the sudden attack of an enemy befall us, I behold every one hast-

Greg. Nazianz. orat. XL.

Hom. in Act. Apost. XXXI.

Hom. in Act. Apost. XXXVI. De Bapt.

ening to the baptistry." Gregory relates, that during an incursion of the Goths into Cappadocia, an unbaptized youth was mortally wounded; and, when dying, he dreaded not death so much, as he lamented to die unbaptized. He cried aloud for baptism, which, as he was shut out from the town, nobody could administer to him. His despair surely proceeded from the erroneous belief, that, without the external ceremony of baptism, no one could obtain salvation.

Hom. Act.
Ap. XXIII.

Chrysostom thus mentions the various circumstances under which men received baptism: "The catechumens, though occupied in preparing themselves for baptism, have no zeal for a godly life; neither have they, who are already baptized:—some because they received it in sickness, and upon being restored to health, have no longer any desire to live according to the will of God; and even those, who received it in health, discover little of this desire, although for the moment they were fervently disposed, their ardour hath since become extinguished."

This representation would appear to favor the baptism of grown-up persons; but in this number must be included not only those, who received baptism from a determination to walk in the paths of righteousness, and in whose lives it formed a new era; but those also, who, relying upon certain supposed magical effects of the sacred rite, by which they hoped to be purified at some period before death, gave themselves up to the service of sin, and at last, when the hour of sickness came, received baptism without due preparation, as a mere *opus operatum*. On the other hand, the general use of infant baptism would have tended to supplant idolatry, and

spread Christianity more rapidly in the families of the heathen. The beneficial effect produced by baptism in riper years,—regarded as the commencement of a new life, freely and conscientiously devoted to God,—might equally be obtained by a first participation in the holy communion, that solemn and voluntary entrance into the Christian congregation. This happy result could not, however, have been experienced in the ancient church, where an infant communion was administered, and where the two sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, were not sufficiently removed from each other in point of time. They did not perceive, that baptism imparts to us that spiritual grace, which should imperceptibly commence with the first dawn of consciousness, and tranquilly and gradually ripen within the bosom of the Christian church; while the holy communion presupposes that more perfectly matured state of the understanding, which seeks and wins for itself heavenly grace by a voluntary act.

II.—ON MONACHISM. Vid. p. 29.

It was by no means intended, that the monks should lead a life of listless contemplation; on the contrary, manual labor was enjoined them as a duty by their rational adherents,—by Chrysostom, as well as by Augustine; although many fanatical mystics, and advocates of an inactive life, rejected under the cloak of sanctity all connection of a laborious with a contemplative life.

Chrysostom had probably beheld in his native country many such advocates of idleness among the Euchites and Messalians, and he reproves them in his explanation of the follow-

De opere
Monachorum.

John VI. 27. ing passage : “ Labour not for the meat which perisheth,” which they perverted to suit their inclinations : “ But since persons, who desire to be maintained in idleness, pervert the sense of this passage, as if Christ had forbidden manual labor, it is time that they be admonished ; for they bring Christianity into evil report, and cause it to be derided, as the source of idleness. Let us first hear Paul, who saith :

Acts XX. 35. ‘ Remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how he said, it is more blessed to give, than to receive.’ But how can he give, who possesseth nought? What then said Jesus to Martha :

Luke X. 41, 42. ‘ Thou art careful and troubled about many things : but one thing is needful, and Mary hath chosen that good part.’ And again :

Matt. VI. 34. ‘ Take no thought for the morrow.’ We must now explain all these passages, not only to rouse the indolent, but also, that we may not by our teaching, introduce inconsistency into the word of God. For Paul also saith in another place : ‘ We beseech you, that ye study to be quiet, and to do your own business, and to work with your own hands, that ye may walk honestly toward them that are without.’

Thess. IV. 10, 11. And again : ‘ Let him that stole, steal no more : but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.’ Here Paul commandeth us not only to labor, but to work with so much diligence that we may be in a condition to give to others.” And after introducing some other passages to the same effect, in order to do away with any apparent contradiction, he adds : “ Not to be careful, in no wise implieth, not to labor ; but not to cleave to earthly things ; that is, not to be solicitous concerning the wants of the morrow ; but to regard them, as second-

ary objects of our labor ; for we may labor, and treasure up nothing for the morrow ; and we may labor, and yet not be careful ; for labor is not the same thing as care. A man may labor, not to support himself, but to impart aid to him that needeth. The words spoken by our Lord to Martha were not directed against labor ; but they teach us the importance of discerning the right moment, and of not wasting upon earthly concerns the time appointed for hearing the divine word. Christ therefore said not these things to render us indolent, but to fix our attention upon his words. I am come, he saith, to teach you things of which ye have need ; but thou busiest thyself about the repast. If thou would receive me well, and make ready a costly meal ; prepare for me another repast. Listen attentively to my discourse, and imitate the earnest desire of thy sister.”

In the greater monastic regulations ascribed to Basil, it is written : “ Since our Lord Christ saith not generally, that, ‘ every man ; ’ but that, ‘ the workman is worthy of his meat : ’ and since the apostle directeth us to ‘ work with our own hands, in order that we may give to him, who hath need ; it followeth that to work honestly is a manifest duty. For we should neither make use of religion as a pretext for idleness, nor as a means to escape labor ; but as a motive for exertion, and for greater labor, and for patience under sufferings, that we also may be able to say with the apostle : ‘ In weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst.’ This rule of life is not only profitable to keep the body in subjection ; but also to promote love towards our neighbour, so that through us God may relieve the wants of our suffering brethren.” In like

Basil. Re-
gula, sivè
τὰ ἀσκητικά
c. 37.

Matt. X. 10.

Ephes. IV.
28.

II Cor. XI,
27.

manner Chrysostom describes the monks of the Egyptian deserts: "After having renounced all earthly possessions, and being crucified entirely unto the world, they proceed still further, and devote the labour of their bodies to the support of the needy. Neither because they fast and watch do they hold it right to be idle in the day; but imitating the zeal of the apostles, they pass the night in sacred hymns and vigils; the day in prayer and the work of their hands. Let us all, therefore, both poor and rich, be ashamed, when they, who have nothing but their hands, bind themselves to provide subsistence for the destitute." Cassian relates that not only the monasteries of Egypt, but that the districts of Lybia, when suffering from famine, and also the unfortunate men, who languished in the prisons of cities, were supported by the labor of the monks. Augustine relates, that the monks in Syria and Egypt were enabled by their labor and savings to send ships laden with provisions to distressed districts.¹ The monks of the East were remarkable for their hospitality, although their cells and cloisters were infinitely poorer than those of their more recent brethren of the West. The most rigid monks, who lived only upon salt and bread, placed before their guests other food, and at times consented to lay aside their accustomed severity, in order to persuade them to partake of the refreshments, which were set before them. A monk, Thalassius, who resided near a village in the province of Cyrrestica, on the Euphrates, collected

Hom. in
Matt. VIII.

Institut.
Cœnobia.
Lib. X. c.
22.

De Moribus
Eccles. Ca-
thol. Lib. I.
c. 31.

Theodor.
Relig. Hist.
c. XXII.

¹ "Nullo modo namque satagunt, ut hæc sibi abundant, sed omni modo agunt, ut non apud se remaneat quod abundaverit, usque adeo ut oneratas etiam naves in ea loca mittant, quæ inopes incolunt." Augustin de Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ. Lib. I. Cap. xxxi.

together many blind beggars; built dwellings for them; taught them to sing Christian hymns with him; and induced a multitude of men, who sought him from all classes to contribute to their support.

Besides the promotion of love and charity, there was another object pointed out in the passage above cited by us from the rules of Basil, which induced the lawgivers of monachism to enjoin labor, as an especial duty. They wished to keep the passions in subjection, and to maintain a due balance between the spiritual and physical powers of human nature; because the latter, if unemployed and under no control, easily exercise a destructive influence over the former. The following is a beautiful extract upon this subject from Synesius." You surely will not despise nature, and pretend, that, fixed to one spot, ye have the power of living solely for contemplation,—as if ye were raised above all human affections,—gods, only veiled in a body. Know then, that ye are far from being gods, or even godly and wise men,—rather arrogant boasters. I have seen barbarians,¹ of the two principal classes,² who had given themselves up to a life of contemplation, and had retired from the affairs of the world and communion with men. They had sacred songs, holy creeds, and appointed times of prayer, all which things tend to avert their minds from sensuality; they live separate from each other, that they may neither see nor hear

Dion. Ed.
Petav. p.45.

¹ A term which denoted those, who were not Greeks, and probably here refers to men of old Egyptian descent.

² Christian and heathen Ascetics: the latter wore a white mantle, the garb of the Grecian philosophers; the former a black one. Vid. Synesii Epist. 153. "οι εν λευκοις, οι εν φαιοις τριβωσι" There were doubtless Egyptian monks and ascetics before the appearance of Christianity.

the thing which is pleasant; and it would not be far from the truth to say of them:

‘Οὐ γὰρ, σῖτον ἔδουσ’, οὐ πινοῦς ἀίθοπα ἄινον.’¹

But even such men cannot entirely divest themselves of the frailties of our nature; they know that they are men; and that, as such, they have within them base passions which they suspect and watch, lest they rise up and rebel;² for what other object can they have in occupying themselves, as they do, with the making of baskets, or the preparing of webs?”

Regula. c.
28.

Among the rules of Basil we find the following decision respecting the trades which formed the occupation of the monks: that no general regulation can be made, because the trades must vary, according to the difference of countries, but those should be preferred, which did not interfere with a peaceable and tranquil life; which occasioned but little trouble in the provision of proper materials for the work, and in the sale of it when completed; which required not much useless or injurious intercourse with men; and did not gratify irrational desires and luxury: while those who followed the trades of weavers and shoemakers were permitted to labor so far as was required by the necessities, but by no means to administer to the vanities of life. Agriculture, the art of building, the trades of a carpenter and a smith, were in themselves good, and not to be rejected, but it was to be feared, that they might lead to a loss of repose, and cause the monks to be much separated from each other. Otherwise agricultural occupation was particularly to be recommended, and it was

¹ “They eat not bread, nor drink the sparkling wine.”

² “ἔχοντες ὑποκειμενας ζῶας ἐλαττους, ἄς υποπτεουσι και προ καταλαμβανουσιν, ὡς μη κινουιντο και κατεξαισταιιντο.”

by agriculture, that the monks, at a later period, so much contributed to the civilization of the rude nations of the West.

The most venerated of the monks were visited by men of every class—by emperors, as well as by the meanest individuals—who desired to see the holy men, implored their blessing, and sought from them healing in sickness, consolation in misfortune, and spiritual advice. A weighty word,—one of those pithy sentiments, uttered by some great monk, of which so many have been handed down to us,—proceeding from the mouth of a man, universally respected, and supported by the impression, which his holy life and venerable appearance had created, when spoken at a right moment, oftentimes effected more, than the long and repeated harangues of other men. Thus the mother of the celebrated Theodoret, in her early youth came to the Syrian monk Peter, and solicited his prayers for her recovery from a severe disease of the eyes, upon which all the physicians had vainly expended their art. She appeared, according to the fashion of high-born ladies in that day, hung round with many golden chains, and attired in a rich silken dress. Before the monk would speak upon the subject of her malady, he drew her attention to the state of her soul, which he judged from her exterior appearance: “Dishonor not,” he said to her, “the divine image in thy countenance, and think not to excel the art of the wise God.” These words produced in her an entire change of life. A religious direction was imparted to education by the great influence, which respected monks obtained over mothers, who had frequently entreated their prayers, that sons might be born to them. The children were

Theodor.
Relig. Hist.
c. IX.

Relig. Hist.
IX.

sent to the monks from the cities to receive their blessings, and on these occasions their minds were strewed with the seeds of Christian truth, which took deep root. Thus Theodoret says of the monk Peter: "He often placed me on his knees, and fed me with bread and grapes; for my mother having had experience of his spiritual grace, sent me to him once every week to receive his blessing." In speaking of Macedonius he also says: "Often have I benefited by his blessing and instruction; often hath he said to me with much exhortation: 'My son, many a night, before thou wert born, have I prayed to God, that thou mightest be granted unto thy parents. Repay my toil by a good life. Before thy birth thou wert dedicated by a vow to God; but that which is dedicated to God must be honored by all, and preserved from contact with uncleanness.'"

Regula, c.
15.

The duties of education were particularly recommended to the monks by Basil. They were enjoined to take upon themselves voluntarily the education of orphans; the education of other youths, when entrusted to them by their parents. It was by no means necessary, that these children should become monks; they were, if fitted for it, early instructed in some trade or art; and were afterwards at liberty to make a free choice of their vocation. The greatest care was bestowed upon their religious and moral acquirements. Particular houses were appointed, in which they were to be brought up under the superintendence of one of the oldest and most experienced monks, known for his patience and benignity, that their faults might be corrected with paternal mildness and circumspect wisdom.¹ Instead of the

¹ Ἐπιτεταχθᾶσι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ὁ καθ' ἡλικίαν προηκῶν καὶ τῆν

mythical tales, passages out of the Holy Scriptures—the history of the divine miracles, and maxims out of Solomon's proverbs,—were given them to learn by heart, that they might be taught in a manner at the same time instructive and entertaining.

The monks of the East greatly contributed to the conversion of the heathen, both by their plain, sincere discourse, and by the veneration which their lives inspired; and their simple mode of living rendered it easy for them to establish themselves in any place. Many labored in the spirit of Christian love; in no way imitating the fury of those wild assailers of the temples, against whom Libanius and Eunapius declaim. The monk Abraham, dwelling in the province of Cyrrhastica, heard that a large village, upon Mount Lebanon, was still obscured by the night of heathenism. Accompanied by some of his brethren, he betook himself thither, disguised in the habit of a merchant. Under this character, he hired a house, and, after some days of repose, commenced with his companions the celebration of divine service. Their spiritual songs betrayed them, and the heathens, both men and women, hastened to the spot; barricaded the doors of the house; and poured down upon them, from the uncovered roof, all kinds of refuse collected for the purpose. But as the monks remained unmoved, and continued in prayer, their rage at length abated. The inhabitants however required of them to leave the village without delay. At that very moment the imperial tax-gatherers arrived, who endeavoured to extort from the villagers the

Theodor.
Relig. Hist.
c. XVII.

ἑμπειριαν ὑπερ τοὺς ἄλλους ὧν καὶ μαρτυριαν ἔχων ἐπι μακροθυμια, ὥστε πατρικη μὲν εἰς πλαγχνία λογφ δε ἐπιστημονικῶ τα ἀμαρτηματα των νεων ἐπανορθουσθαί.”

payment of duties, greatly beyond their means. Then Abraham, forgetful of the treatment he had received, and imitating our blessed Lord, who, when nailed to the cross, prayed for his persecutors, espoused their cause; admonished the tax-gatherers to conduct themselves with moderation; and promised to pay them a considerable sum in behalf of the inhabitants of the village. He hastened to the neighbouring city, Emesa, and raised the sum among his acquaintance. By this charitable act he gained the entire confidence of the heathen, who had been hitherto so greatly incensed against him. He was allowed to build a church, having been led by them to the places in the neighbourhood, and been pointed out the spots, which were most convenient for its site. They chose him for their guide, both in spiritual and worldly affairs; and within the space of three years, which he passed among them, he completed their conversion. The Isaurians, formerly, as Theodoret observes, called Solymi, who in their marauding excursions spared neither city nor village, and gave all things up to pillage and the flames, could not repress their veneration for the monk Theodosius. They always respected his cells, and only asked of him some bread and his prayers. Even the extravagant self-mortification of some monks, which were certainly more fitted for Indian Saniahs, than for Christian Ascetics, found a defender in Theodoret, who, in answer to the reproaches, which such austerities justly excited, affirmed, that they made an impression upon the minds of uncivilized and ignorant men. His defence of the Stylite Simeon, who passed whole years standing upon a lofty column is worthy to be noticed: "Men are attracted by the newness

Theodor.
Relig. Hist.
c. X.

Theodor.
Relig. Hist.
c. XXVI.

of the sight, and are thereby rendered more open to admonition. He who cometh to behold the sight, departeth instructed in religion. And as among men, kings, at certain periods vary the impressions upon their coins, at one time stamping lions upon them, at another time stars, at another time angels; or seek by striking figures to confer a greater value upon the gold; in like manner by these new and manifold ways of life, and as it were by certain remarkable types, doth the almighty Lord of all move both believers and unbelievers to speak his praise." In confirmation of this statement he alleges, that Iberians, Armenians, Persians, and especially the heathen Arabians, had in this manner been converted by Simeon, and he recites many extraordinary instances of the veneration, with which Simeon had inspired the rude Arabian tribes: "And that these things are after this manner, words alone do not testify, but facts themselves proclaim. For many thousands of the Ishmaelites, who were slaves to the darkness of idolatry, have been enlightened by this holy man. This shining light, placed, as it were, upon a candlestick, sendeth forth rays from on all sides, like unto the sun; and, as I have before said, Iberians, Armenians and Persians may be seen to draw near and receive holy baptism. The Ishmaelites have come, sometimes to the number of 200, sometimes to 300, sometimes to 1000, and renounced with a shout the error of their fathers, breaking in pieces, before this great light, the images which they had worshipped; forswearing the rites of Aphrodite, (for in former days they had given themselves up to the worship of that goddess) they have been baptized, and have received

laws from his holy mouth ; and forsaking the customs of their forefathers, they have spewed out the fodder of wild asses and camels. And I myself have seen and heard them, when they renounced the iniquity of their fathers, and confessed the doctrines of the Gospel. And I once incurred the greatest danger ; for when Simeon commanded them to draw near to me, and receive the priestly blessing, telling them, that they would derive from it the greatest gain, with a barbarous onset some dragged me from before, some from behind, some from on either side, and those, who were further off, climbing on the backs of others, and stretching out their hands, either pulled my beard or rent my garments ; and by their violent attack they would of a truth have killed me, had not Simeon raised his voice aloud, and dispersed them. Such was the fruit, which sprung from this column, laughed at by railers ; and so great was the ray of godly knowledge, which it shed upon the minds of the barbarians." Had the monk lived as a missionary among the Arabians, and manifested the divine power of Christianity in the daily intercourse of life, he would have obtained a more enduring and fruitful influence over these uncivilized men ; and the veneration of which he was the object, would have made a more salutary impression, because it would have rested upon a purer foundation, and have resulted from a clearer conviction.

Among the heathen, who were almost invariably the bitterest adversaries of monachism, there was one, who wrote with impartiality concerning the monks. This was the noble Synesius, who, though a heathen when he composed his *Dion*, nevertheless in everything perceived and admitted that which was good :

“The greater part of these people,” he observes, “and those of them especially, whom nature never intended for this mode of life, perplex their minds and waste their energies in a fruitless and irrational endeavor to comprehend divine things. This love of a contemplative life might indeed improve the understanding, or rather I would interpret the passion to be itself a manifestation of quickening reason. But the greater part have not adopted this course of life from any internal impulse, and their reason will not be awakened to activity by idleness and repose. Men of the most opposite dispositions, who unite solely for the promotion of their own particular interests, embrace it with the same zeal, which would actuate them in the pursuit of any other occupation sanctioned and respected by the fashion of the day.” He addresses them in the following words: “Boldest of men, if we believed you to have that dignity of soul, which an Amus, a Zoroaster, a Hermes, or an Antonius possessed, we should require from you no scientific attainments; the lightening powers of your mind would compensate for the deficiency of syllogistic reasoning. Were we to meet with such men among you, we should revere them.” Synesius here alludes to the sages of the East in whom the power of a quick and vivid perception supplied the place of philosophical education,—a quality peculiar to the Eastern nations, and more especially to the subtle spirit of the Greeks. In this class Synesius ranks Antonius, the father of Monachism, whose merits were depreciated by men of limited understanding, but whose greatness of mind is proved by various anecdotes, which have descended to us. The following sayings speak well for a man devoid of scientific ac-

Synesii
Dion, p. 49.

Synesii
Dion, p. 51.

quirements. Being desirous of convincing two Grecian philosophers, that, a true knowledge of God was to be acquired rather through faith, than through logical reasoning, he said to them : “ Faith proceedeth from a certain condition of the mind.¹ Logic is the result of human ingenuity. To those therefore, who have a direct perception through faith, a demonstration upon the grounds of reason is not necessary, perhaps superfluous ; for that, which we behold through faith, ye seek to prove by argument ; and oftentimes ye cannot so much as express in words that, which to us is visible.” To a scholar, who asked him, how he could endure to live without books, he replied : “ My book is the book of nature ; therein, when it pleaseth me, I can read the word of God.”

III.—UPON THE VIEWS WHICH PREVAILED AT THIS PERIOD CONCERNING THE QUALIFICATIONS REQUISITE FOR THE ECCLESIASTICAL OFFICE. Vid. p. 68.

At different periods of history, we remark the existence of the same opposite extremes of error in the opinions, which prevailed concerning the qualifications requisite for the ecclesiastical state, and the duties incumbent upon it ; and from these conflicting views much evil has invariably resulted to the church. The chief merit of the ecclesiastical order was by some supposed to consist in a personal dexterity, or superior power of executing certain performances in the administration of the sacraments, and in the celebration of the liturgy ; while the

¹ “ Απο διαθεσεως ψυχης γινεται.”

sermon was considered of little moment, and everything, which conduced to the theological improvement of the clergyman, as superfluous or even detrimental. By others the ecclesiastic was only valued for his oratorical powers and professional knowledge; and the highest excellence attainable in his vocation was, according to their views, either an unfruitful acquaintance with theological lore, or a vain skill in rhetoric. At this period many entertained the first of these erroneous opinions, and this misapprehension tended to encourage the indolence of unworthy ecclesiastics, and was in a great measure the cause of bad appointments. Gregory Nazianzen, Jerome, and Augustin, join with the representations and complaints of Chrysostom in his work upon the Priesthood. Gregory Nazianzen accords in a striking manner with Chrysostom in his admonitory discourse to the great body of the clergy, which appeared in the form of a poem, composed at his departure from Constantinople. He also notices a similar excuse for the ignorance of the clergy, viz. the simplicity of the Apostles, who though unlettered publicans and fishermen, gained the hearts of men by their divine powers: ¹

De se ipso,
et adversus
Episcopos.

Iac. Tollii
Insignia
Itinerarii
Italici. Tra-
ject. 1696,
p. 22.

192. “ Ἄλλ' οἱ τελῶναι, χ' ἄλιεῖς, ἤξεσι μοι
Εὐαγγελισται, καὶ πενητεὶς ἐν λογῶ,
Κοσμον σαγηνευσαντες εὐτελεῖ λογῶ.
195. Καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς λαβόντες εἰσὼ δικτυῶν,
Ὡς ἂν τὸ θαῦμα μῆϊζον ἦ τὸ τε λογῶν.
Καὶ γὰρ προχειρὸν τοῦτο τοῖς πολλοῖς λεγεῖν.
198. Πρὸς οὓς βραχυς μοι καὶ σαφὴς ἄγαν λόγος.” ²

¹ I have literally translated the long citations, which Neander gives in the obscure Greek of the original, and have omitted some paraphrases and criticisms, which appeared either superfluous or unnecessarily minute.—I. C. S.

² 192. “ But publicans will present themselves to me, as Evangelists,

To this apology he opposes an argument similar to that of Chrysostom, saying: "Let them likewise resemble the Apostles, both in the power of working miracles, and in holiness of life:"

199. " Δος μοι το πιστον των ἀποστόλων ἑνος,
 Ἀ'χαλκον εἶναι, πῆραν οὐκ ἔξημμενον,
 Ἄραβδον, ἡμιγυμνον, ὡς δ' ασανδαλον,
 Ἐφημερον, πλουτουντα ἐλπίδας μονας,
 Μηδ' ευπροσηγορον¹ τιν' εἰς δοξαν λογου,
 Τοο μη δοκειν θωπειαν ἰσχυειν πλεον,
 205. Μηδ' ασχολεισθαι προς λογους αλλοτριους.
 Τουτων τις εστω, και τα παντα δεξομαι
 211. Ἐν οὖν τι δος μοι, μη καθηρης δαιμονων;
 Μη λεπρον ἐξελοις, μη νεκρον ταφου;
 Μελω̄ν τε πηξιν μη λαβοι παρειμενος;
 Θες τῷ καμνοντι χειρα, και στητω νοσος
 215. Ὅτω με πεισεις του λογου καταφρονειν¹

He then proceeds to remark in the manner of Chrysostom: "that the apostles were like-

Dragging the whole world with simple discourse,
 And fishermen, and men poor in speech,

195. And taking even the wise in the net,
 That the marvel of their preaching may be the
 greater.

For this is what most of them are ready to say.

198. To whom my answer is a short and a plain one."

- ¹ 199. " Give me the vouchers of one of the Apostles,
 The being penniless, bearing no scrip about him,
 Having no staff, being half naked, and without shoes,
 Living from day to day, possessing only hopes,
 No fair spoken man, seeking credit from his dis-
 course.

Lest he should seem chiefly to prevail by flatteries;*

205. Nor spending his time upon aliene studies.
 Let your man be such as these and I will admit
 all.

211. Tell me one thing. Can you exorcise the possessed?
 Can you cure a leper, or raise up the dead?
 Can the lame man through thee be healed?
 Lay but your hands upon the sick, and let his
 disease be stayed.

*Vide Luke
 X. 4.

wise powerful in speech, which was proved by the effect of their discourse, and by their writings :”

230. “ Κακεῖνο δ’ ἔειπε, πῶς ἀπαιδευτους καλεῖς,
Τοιοῦτοι ὧν λόγοι τε, καὶ συγγραμματα,
‘Ὦν καμνομεν νοησαι καὶ μικρον λαθος,
‘Οἱ τοις λόγοις ἀνωθεν ἐντεθραμμενοι ;
’Εἰς ὅς λογος τοσοῦτος ἀυθις καὶ πονος,
235. ‘Ὦς μεν τα παντα τυγχανειν πονηματων,
Γλωσσης τε πασης, καὶ φρενος ἐυμαθεστερας,
Καρπον φερουσης, ὑψος ἐξήγησεων.” (1)

A beautiful passage follows on the animating and fructifying power of the Bible :

238. “ Ποθεν βασιλεῖς τε, καὶ πολεις, καὶ συλλογους,
Κατηγοροῦντας, ευθυνοντας ἐν λόγοις,
240. Προ βηματων τε, καὶ θεατροις ἐν μεσοις,
Σοφους, νομικους, Ἑλληνας, ὠφρωμενους,
Δημηγοροῦντας, ἐυστομουντας καιρια,
Ἐπειθον, ἐξήλεγχον ἐν παρρησια,
244. Εἰ μη λογου μετεῖχον, ὄσυ μη διδως ;” (2)

215. Upon these terms I will consent to despise learning. . . .”
- ¹ 230. “ And tell me this, why call you them uneducated, Of whom such discourse and writings are extant, The least obscurity of which is a labour even to us, Who have been trained up from youth to the study of them, Upon whose books we have so much commented and written, That every part of them hath had labour bestowed upon it. And every language and every well instructed mind Bear to them the fruit of sublime interpretation.”
- ² 238. “ How came it, that kings and cities, and assemblies Accusers, and men taking them to task in speeches, Before tribunals, and in the midst of theatres Wise men, lawyers, supercilious Grecians, Popular orators, opportunely eloquent, Were persuaded by them, and freely confuted,
244. Unless they possessed that learning, which you deny them ?”

Again, if they answer, that the divine Spirit alone conferred this power of speech upon the apostles, it may, he says, be rejoined: "that since ye appeal to the apostles, ye must yourselves have attained, through divine inspiration, a power of speech equal to theirs; but this is not the case."

245. "Ἴσως ἀν ἐπιπης, ἐν ροῇ τοῦ πνεύματος,
Λεγων ἀληθῶς, ἀλλά τοῦντευθεν σκοπεῖ.
Σοὶ δ' οὐ μετεστι πνεύματος; καὶ μὴ φρονεῖς
Τουτῶ μαλιστα. πῶς φθονεῖς οὖν τοῦ λόγου
249. Τοῖς τουτον ἐκζητουσιν;" (1)

Gregory also distinguishes from the rhetorical art the talent of expounding intelligibly the divine doctrine: "If they wished to deprive the church of the former, they were in the right; but the ecclesiastical teacher cannot dispense with the latter:"

267. ". διττος ἡμῖν πας λόγος,
Λεξεις τε καὶ νοῦς; αἶ μὲν, διὸν ἐκτοθεν
'Ἐσθημ', ὃ δ' ἐνδον σῶμα ἡμφιεσμενον.
272. Ἡμῖν δε τοῦ μὲν, ἕκτος ὅν πολυς λόγος,
'Ὅπως ποθ' ἐξεί, τοῦ δ' ἔσω λιαν πολυς.
'Ἐν νῶ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἡ σωτηρία,
275. Πλην ἐκλαλουμενῶ τε, καὶ δηλουμενῶ." (2)

-
- ¹ 245. "Perhaps you will answer by the influx of the Holy Spirit,
And you will answer right. But then you must consider this;
You have no gifts of the Spirit, although, that is the point,
You must rely upon. Why then do you grudge their learning
249. To those, who seek its attainment?"
² 267. "All our discourse is twofold,
Words and meaning. Those are like the outward
269. Raiment; this, like the body within, that is clothed . . .
272. But we take not much account of the external
How it fares, but very much of the inward.
For our salvation resides in the meaning,
275. So as it be declared, and made manifest."

St. Jerome makes the following eloquent declaration against that effected simplicity, the watchword of those slothful enemies of learning: "Nor do I censure a Christian, because he is unskilled in rhetoric, and I would, that we possessed the wise intelligence of Socrates contained in his recorded words: 'All that I know is, that I know nothing, and that we profited by the counsel of another sage,¹ who enjoined his hearers to know themselves. It is not rustic verbosity that I prize, but holy simplicity. Let him who pretendeth to imitate the apostles in their speech, first imitate the virtues of their lives. A holy life excuseth simplicity of speech, and one raised from the dead refuteth the syllogisms of Aristotle and the subtleties of Chrysippus. But it would be absurd were one of us in the midst of the riches of Cræsus, and the pleasures of Sardanapalus, to boast of his rustic simplicity, as if every robber and criminal had studied eloquence, and hidden his ensanguined blade in the volumes of the philosopher, and not in the trunks of trees.'² He would say, that vice is as often united with untutored life, as with specious civilization; and he opposes those, who not perceiving the true origin of evil,

In Ep. ad Pammachium de optimo genere interpretandi. Ep. 101. Old Edit.

¹ Pythagoras.

² "Nec reprehendo in quolibet Christiano sermonis impenitentiam, atque utinam Socraticum illud haberemus: Scio, quod nescio. Et alterius sapientio: Te ipsum intellige. Venerationi mihi semper fuit non verbosa rusticitas, sed sancta simplicitas. Qui sermone se dicit imitari apostolos, prius imitentur virtutes in vitâ illorum. In loquendo simplicitatem excusabit sanctimonix magnitudo, et syllogismos Aristotelis contortaque Chrysippi acumina resurgens mortuus confutabit. Cæterum ridiculum, si quis e nobis, manens inter Cræsi opes et Sardanapali delicias, de solâ rusticitate se jactet: quasi omnes latrones et diversorum criminum rei disertis sint, et cruentos gladios philosophorum voluminibus, et non arborum truncis occultent."

look upon the rude state of nature, as the best condition of man, and regard civilization as the source of every crime. With this extract from St. Jerome may be compared the beautiful expressions of Chrysostom upon simplicity: "Let us not pass over superficially the words of the Holy Scripture; but closely examine each word, and endeavour to comprehend its purport, and above all let us not imagine, that ignorance and simplicity suffice for our justification, for the Lord commanded us not only to be simple, but also to be wise. Let us, therefore, both in doctrine and in works, combine wisdom with simplicity."¹ And, again: "Hear ye not the words of the apostle? 'Be ready always to give an answer to every man, that asketh you a reason of the hope, which is in you.' And Paul likewise maketh the same exhortation, saying, 'Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly in all wisdom.' What reply is then made by these men, more idle than drones? 'Blessed is every simple soul.'² 'He that walketh simply, walketh surely.'³ Hence ariseth the evil,—the multitude understand not how to apply the testimonies of Scripture, for these passages refer neither to the unlearned, nor the foolish, but to those, who are without guile, to the innocent

Hom. in
Joann.
XXXIX.

Hom. in.
Joann.
XVII.

I Peter III.
15.

Colos. III.
16.
Prov. XI.
25.

— X. 9.

¹ "Μη παρατρεχωμεν απλως τα ειρημενα, αλλα μετα ακριβειας εξετασωμεν απαντα, την αιτιαν των λεγομενων πανταχου σκοπουντες, μηδε νομιζωμεν αρκειν ημιν εις απολογιαν την αγνοιαν και την απλοτητα· ου γαρ ακεραιους εκελευσε μονον ειναι, αλλα και φρονιμους· αδοκωμεν τοινον μετα της απλοτητος και την φρονησιν και επι των δογματων και επι των του βιου κατορθωματων."

² This passage was read in the Greek Church according to the Alexandrian translation, which does not correspond with the Hebrew text. Concerning the origin of the Greek translation of this passage, vid. Schleusner Lexicon in LXX. sub voce, απλως.

³ This again accords with the Alexandrian translation, in which "simple" signifies as much as upright, innocent.

and the wise. For had the former been intended, our Lord would not have said, “ Be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.” Chrysostom well knew, that learning was no substitute for Christianity; that it could not of itself imbue a man with the genuine spirit of religion; and that it was by no means essential to a due comprehension of the faith; but he was far from giving way to bigotted and insensate declamations against it. He was well aware, that learning is not opposed to the gospel; but that, like all human capabilities, it may be made subservient to divine purposes, be adopted by Christianity, and enlisted in her sacred cause. He signifies this in the following extract. Having set forth, that Christianity had been in the first instance extended by divine power, and not by human knowledge, he said: “ If our Lord at the commencement of his ministry chose not his disciples from among the learned, but afterwards admitted them to his service, he did it not, because he needed their assistance, but because he would make no distinctions among men. For since he needed not the wise of this world to accomplish his gracious design towards man, neither did he afterwards on account of their learning reject any, who came to seek him. As Christ, when he sent forth his disciples into the world, and first in Palestine manifested through them his power, said: ‘ When I sent you without purse, and scrip, and shoes, lacked ye anything?’ but afterwards permitted them to take both scrip and purse, in like manner did he in this respect: the power of Christ was to be revealed, but in nowise were those, who believed, to be rejected on account of their learning.” It was a matter of the last importance in the opinion of Chrysostom, that a bishop

Matt. X. 16.

Hom. in
Epist. I. ad
Cor. III.Luke XXII.
35.

Hom. Epis.
in. Tit. II.

Tit. 1. 9.

should possess abilities equal to the duties of his high office;—a sentiment, which may be discovered in the following passage: “Paul saith, ‘A bishop must hold fast the faithful word, as he hath been taught, that he may be able by sound doctrine both to exhort, and convince the gainsayers.’ A bishop needeth not therefore pomp of speech, but judgment, an accurate knowledge of the Scriptures, and power of thought. Knowest thou not, that Paul subdued the whole world, and effected more than Plato, and every other sage? Yes! by his miracles wilt thou reply. No! not alone by his miracles; for, if thou peruse the Acts of the Apostles, thou wilt find, that, before his miracles, he was triumphant by the word. ‘That he may be able by sound doctrine to exhort,’ meaneth in defence of the faithful, and to the overthrow of our enemies. ‘And to convince the gainsayers;’ for without this last all things would be lost. For let not him approach the pulpit, who can neither combat the enemies of our faith, nor bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ; nor cast down vain imaginations, nor teach the things pertaining to the right doctrine. For though a man be blameless, have faithful children, be a lover of hospitality, and be just and holy; that, which chiefly marks him as a teacher is his ability to preach the word, to which qualification no attention now is paid.”

While some regarded the clergyman, as a mere performer of the ecclesiastical rites, and required of him no theological attainments; others, as we have already remarked, considered him as the public orator upon religious subjects. The sermon, as a work of rhetorical art, was that part of the service, which they deemed

most essential, and was the sole object, which induced them to attend the church. An eloquent preacher was honoured even by the heathen, and was enabled to raise the reputation of the whole church: "If," says Chrysostom, "a preacher shine by his eloquence, the heathen extol not him alone, but the whole church. They say not, that he is a wonderful man, but, that the Christians have a wonderful teacher." The eminent fathers of this age complained frequently, that both ecclesiastics and laymen had introduced an ostentatious declamation into the church, and thus neglected the true object of Christian edification. St. Jerome says, "The simplicity and purity of the apostolical language are already lost, and the churches are held in no higher esteem, than the Athenæum and the schools of the Rhetoricians. The preacher striveth to obtain the applause of the multitude, and his discourse, adorned with the delusive arts of rhetoric, goeth forth, after the fashion of a courtesan, not to instruct the people, but to seek their favour; and like the psaltery or melodious flute, to captivate the senses of the audience."¹

Hom. in
I Cor.
XXXI.

Hieronym.
in Prefat.
Comment.
Ep. Galat.
Lib. III.

¹ "Jam enim et in ecclesiis ista quærunter, omisssaque apostolicorum simplicitate et puritate verborum, quasi ad Athenæum et ad auditoria convenitur, ut plausus circumstantiam suscitentur, ut oratio rhetoricæ artis fucata mendacia, quasi quædam meretricula procedat in publicum, non tam eruditura populos, quam favorem populi quæsitura, et in modum psalterii et tibie dulce canentis, sensus demulciat audientium."

SECOND PERIOD.

CHRYSOSTOM'S MINISTRY WHEN PRESBYTER AT ANTIOCH, A. D. 386—398.

CHRYSOSTOM, during the time that he was deacon, had no ministry fitted to his great powers and active zeal; and the force and clearness of his eloquence had not hitherto been manifested in public preaching. For this reason Bishop Flavian, the successor of Miletius, who departed this life, A. D. 381, determined to place him in a more enlarged sphere of action, and ordained him presbyter of his own church, A. D. 386. Being presbyter, he divided with the bishop the labours of the ministry, and assisted him in preaching, in the administration of the sacraments, and in other ecclesiastical affairs. In many of the larger cities, where the Christians formed the greater part of the population, as in Rome and Alexandria, it had been found necessary to establish small parochial churches, over each of which a presbyter was appointed pastor; ¹ and these lesser com-

¹ This was not a general regulation; for Epiphanius notices it as one peculiar to the city of Alexandria,—that there, as in our days, various smaller churches and congregations were entrusted to the care of presbyters, whom the bishop appointed: “ὅσαι ἐκκλησῖαι τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐν Ἀλεξάνδρεια ὑπο ἑνᾶ ἀρχιεπισκοποῦ οὔσαι καὶ κατ’ ἰδίαν ταύταις ἑπιτέταγματοι εἰσι πρεσβύτεροι διὰ τὰς ἐκκλησιαστικὰς χρεῖας τῶν οἰκητορῶν.” Epiphanius. de Arian. hæres. 69. A similar

munities were dependent upon the mother church, which was under the immediate superintendence of the Bishop. But at Antioch we find no trace of such a regulation; nor can we discover in the discourses of Chrysostom any mention of an arrangement similar to that, which existed in other cities, where it was the custom for individual Presbyters, each belonging to the mother church, to perform divine service successively in the smaller and dependent churches.¹ From the sermons of Chrysostom it appears, that at one hour of the day the bishop, at another hour a presbyter, preached; and this was the only provision made for the vast congregation of Christians at Antioch. Chrysostom therefore did not preach to any particular flock, nor had he a separate cure of souls; he assisted the bishop throughout his diocese. But as the power of teaching, and the gift of eloquence were not conferred upon all presbyters, to those, who failed in these respects, were entrusted the administration of the sacraments, and the care of the poor; while the duty of preaching was assigned to those, who possessed in an eminent degree the requisite qualifications.² This charge was doubt-

arrangement appears to have been made for the Christians at Rome in the fourth century; for in the transactions of a Roman Synod in the early part of that century under Bishop Julius I, a church of Rome is thus made mention of: "the church which was under the care of the Presbyter Biton." *εἰθα Βιτων ὁ πρεσβυτερος συνηγεν*, Athanas. apolog. c. Arian. § 20. And also in the Epistle of the Roman Bishop Innocent to the Bishop Decentius, A. D. 416, there is a question of particular churches and congregations being entrusted to certain presbyters.

¹ As was still the case in the sixth century with the three churches dependent upon the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople. Vide. Rheinwald's Archæology.

² Chrysostom himself designates the presbyters, as those,

Hom. Tom.
VI. f. 255.

lessly confided to Chrysostom in preference to all other presbyters. He often preached twice in the week,¹ probably on Sunday and on the Sabbath, Saturday,—which was in many Eastern churches appointed for the assembling of the congregation. He occasionally preached at break of day, an hour which was perhaps chosen in consequence of the great heat.² Bishop Flavian appears to have acknowledged, and availed himself, of the superior attainments of Chrysostom. On one occasion, after the bishop in a few preliminary words had addressed his congregation upon a subject, which in the polemics of that day frequently came under discussion, he permitted him to come forward and answer the objections of the heretics, which the congregation desired to hear refuted by Chrysostom. At another time, in the early morning, when Chrysostom had preached a sermon to the Cathecumen's at one of the distant Baptisteries, and had afterwards arrived at the mother church, oppressed by fatigue and expecting to hear a discourse from his bishop; the latter

to whom the administration of the word, and the care of the poor were entrusted: “ του λογου την διακονιαν ” and, “ πενητων προστασιαν εγχεχειρισμενους.” As the peculiar duty of the bishop he only mentions that of appointing to offices of the church, the χειροτονιων δοκιμασια. Vid. Montfaucon, Tom. III. f. 7. He also says Hom. ad Corinth. III: “ We now also entrust the performance of Baptism to the less learned Presbyters, the preaching of the Word to the more learned.” “ Και νυν τοις μεν αφελεστεροις των βρεσβυτερων τουτο (το βαπτιζειν) εγχειριζομεν, τον διδασκαλικον τοις σοφωτεροις.

¹ Hom. in Joan. XXV. and in Princip. Actor. IV. Tom. III: “ Εγω υμιν απαξ της εβδομαδος συγγινομαι η και δευτερον πολλακις.”

² Vid. Hom in Joan. XXXI. as well as Hom. de mutatione nominum II. Tom. III. f. 109, where Chrysostom says, that the congregation was dismissed on account of the weakness of its members “ ετι του ερος οντος ψυχροτερον.”

desired to become the auditor of Chrysostom, whom he called upon to preach instead of himself, that the wishes of the congregation might be accomplished, who were filled with anxiety to hear him. The eloquence of Chrysostom soon excited general admiration throughout the city, and attracted men of all classes to the church. The listeners thronged around the pulpit, eager to catch each word that he uttered.¹ At times when he had preached at greater length than he had intended, and towards the end of his sermon feared to have wearied his audience, the tokens of applause becoming louder at every moment, gave him clearly to understand, that it was their wish still longer to receive his instruction ;² and in that age, when men were more accustomed to hear the word expounded by their preachers, than to study it in manuscript, a teacher of such amazing eloquence, as Chrysostom,—who testified by his own holy life, that the doctrines, which he delivered with so much power and feeling to others, had a sanctifying and blessed influence upon himself—was capable of producing effects, which, as St. Jerome says, were wont to reveal themselves in a zealous performance of all good works.³ Chrysostom wrote some of his sermons with care ; some he had

Montf. Tom
II. f. 260.

¹ He says, for instance, in the beginning of his third Homily upon the Gospel of St. John, that his hearers crowded together around the βημα in the innermost part of the church, in order to lose none of his words : “ συνωθοντες αλληλους τον ενδοτερω τοπον επειγεσθε καταλαβειν, και οθεν αν εδσημοτερα γενοιτο υμιν η παρ’ ημων φωνη.” and Hom. de Prophetarum obscuritate II. Tom. VI. f. 181 : “ ενδοτερω βαδιζετε πανταχοθεν συντρεχοντες και τον πλησιον εκαστος ωθων και θλιβων.”

² Vid. ed. Montf. f. 247. Tom. II. “ οι προς τω τελει γενομενοι κροτοι μειζους ησαν και λαμπροτεραι αι βοαι.”

³ The words of St. Jerome in his commentary upon the

composed beforehand, but altered according to circumstances, and others again he delivered unprepared, availing himself of any event of the moment. We find an instance of the latter, when on a winter-day, as he bent his steps towards the church, being deeply affected by the sight of a number of beggars, lying in a miserable state upon the ground, he was moved to commence his discourse by the following address: "I have risen to-day to advocate a cause, just, useful and worthy of you. I have been deputed by the mendicants of our city. They have called upon me,—not by words,—not by votes,—nor by any common resolve; but by their frightful and wretched appearance. For in hastening to this assembly as I crossed the forum, and passed through the narrow streets, and saw many of them lying in the midst of the ways, of whom some were deprived of their hands and eyes, others covered with incurable sores, and exposing those places especially, which on account of the putrid gore they discharged, needed concealment, I held it to be the most cruel insensibility not to appeal to

Hom. de
Elymosyna.
T. III. p.
248.

Epistle to the Galatians, Cap. IV. are: "Si quando doctor quis in ecclesiâ contigerit sermone ornatus et vitâ, qui audientes quasi stimulis quibusdam concitet ad virtutes; videmus omnem plebem, circa eleemosynas, jejunia, castitatem, susceptionem pauperum, sepulturus et cætera similia festinare, fervere, discurrere. Cum autem ille recesserit, paulatim emarcescere et subtracto cibo tenuari, pallere, languescere et interitum sequi omnium, quæ prius vigeant." From these words, however, we may conclude, that such effects depended too much upon the momentary impressions and emotions occasioned by the discourse; that they were not sufficiently grounded upon that state of mind which emanates from so lively a perception of the fundamental truths of Christianity, as that they should influence our conduct; and therefore that they lasted only as long, as they were kept up by the personal influence of an eloquent preacher.

your charity in their behalf; and still more, as the season itself demanded it of me. It is indeed necessary to exhort men at all seasons to have pity upon their brethren, as we ourselves need it so much from our merciful Lord, but now especially during the severe cold." The second case is exemplified by those sermons, in which he instantly perceives and takes advantage of the impression made either by his words, or by any sudden occurrence in the church;—thus upon remarking, that the attention of his hearers was attracted by the lighting of the lamps in the church, he exclaimed: "Awake from your inattention; lay aside your sloth; while I explain to you the Holy Scripture, ye have turned your eyes to the lamps, and to him, by whom they are lighted. How great an indifference! I also kindle for you a light, the light of the Holy Scriptures; upon my tongue burneth the light of instruction, a better and a greater light, than that upon which ye gaze." It may likewise be observed, that he suffered himself in a great degree to be impelled by the feeling of the moment, when, according to his own confession, the mention of a favourite theme exercised such power over his mind, that in the remainder of his homily, he occupied himself with the new subject to the entire exclusion of that, with which he had commenced; and on another occasion, when he had intended to preach a shorter discourse,—upon observing, that notwithstanding the length at which he had spoken, the sympathy of his flock, instead of decreasing, continued to augment,—he was induced, contrary to his original design still further to enlarge upon the subject.

In Genes.
Serm. IV.

In Illud
Isaia. XLV.
7. Tom. VI.

Hom. Dæ-
mones non
gubernare
mundum. I.
Tom. II. f.
247.

In the second year of Chrysostom's ministry

an event took place, which spread confusion and dismay throughout Antioch, and at the same time manifested the influence, which he possessed over his flock. In the year A.D. 387, one of those Imperial decrees, which frequently in that age of despotism oppressed the cities of the Roman Empire, exacted from the Antiochians taxes to all appearance impossible to be raised. A general alarm was excited and the irritation of the people was increased by the severity of the tax-gatherers. Citizens of all classes, from the highest to the lowest, hastened to the churches, and implored the Almighty for deliverance. They then assailed the Imperial governor with complaints and entreaties. No redress being obtained, an insurrection took place, which as Chrysostom and many of his cotemporaries maintain, originated in a small number of strangers, collected together from different countries,¹ and actuated by wanton-

¹ Libanius (*προς Θεοδοσ περι στας*) represents the authors of the riot in the same light, as Chrysostom: “*ὅι και ἡλιου και σεληνης και νεφων αυτων* (where there is probably a false reading, and *και* ought to be introduced before *αυτων*) *τους ορχου-μενους προτιθεντες.*” They were persons, whom he describes, with Chrysostom, as most degraded, who held nothing sacred, and were the source of corruption for the whole people. Men, who were hired by the actors, to applaud them, and by the governors to shout their vivats (the *εὐφημιας*) at the public processions among the people and in the theatre, when their iniquitous administration led them to expect none from the free love of the citizens. Libanius and Chrysostom both declare, that the fountain of these disorders could not be closed, but by banishing from the town these persons, who were without a fatherland, a family, or trade, to whom the theatre was every thing;—and it were well, if they carried off on their shoulders the dancers along with them. (Vide *Contra Lucian. Tom. III.* and more particularly *προς Τιμοκρατην, Tom. II. p. 380.*) In which last he says: “They are all strangers, and exiled from their native country on account of their bad lives. They will not occupy

ness or a desire of gain. An application to the bishop¹ was frequently made by the citizens in similar calamities, and by this means relief was sometimes obtained. At first the discontented sought in the church the Bishop Flavian, in order probably to procure a diminution of the

themselves in the trades, to which their parents brought them up. They only wish to, and only can, live in idleness. Some are devoted to the mimic actors; but the greater part to the dancers; and in serving, honouring, and obeying them their whole life consisteth. They are paid more or less by these people according as they are silent or applaud. (This last word is in the Greek *αρχαινοτο*.) Reiske would read *κραζουιντο*. The former word makes the sense very obscure; but it is a question, whether Reiske's suggestion improves the reading. Libanius maintains that the number of these wretches amounted to four hundred. Compare also Chrysostom. Hom. ad Matth. XXXVII: "Those who are supported by the dancers, and sell their voices to their bellies, whose occupation it is to shout applause, and who commit every sort of folly, are the chief stirrers up of the people, and the promoters of riots in the city." *Οἱ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀρχουμένων τρεφομένοι καὶ γαστρὶ τὴν ἑαυτῶν πωλοῦντες φωνὴν, αἷς ἔργον βοηθαὶ καὶ πραξάει παν ἀποπον, οὗτοι μαλίστα εἰσιν, οἱ τοὺς δῆμους ἀναρβριζόντες, οἷ τὰς ταραχὰς ἐμπαινοῦντες ταῖς πόλεσι.*"

¹ In the Epistles of the most remarkable Bishops of this period, many instances are to be met with of their powerful applications in such instances. When the Emperor Valens divided the province of Cappadocia into two provinces (Cappadocia prima and secunda), by which act the burdens of its inhabitants were increased twofold, and the city of Cæsarea, which till then had been the common metropolis, suffered severely, the Bishop of that city, Basilus, was solicited by the citizens to petition the Imperial Government against the division, and among others, whom he addressed, and to whom he freely wrote his opinion, was Martinian, a man, very influential at the Imperial Court: "Do not let it," he writes, "be supposed, that two provinces have been made out of one; for an additional province hath not been received by us from another world; but that which hath been done is, as if the possessor of a horse or an ox were to cut either the one or the other into two parts, and dream that he had two instead of one. The power of a kingdom consisteth not in the number, but in the strength, of its provinces." Thus openly did these men speak!

taxes through his representations to the Emperor at Constantinople. Not finding him, they threatened to storm the house of the governor. Enraged, they hastened to the market-place, tore down the statues of the Emperor, of the Empress, and of the young Princes, Arcadius and Honorius; and insulted and reviled them with songs. The more distinguished citizens, who composed the senate, and administered the general government of the city,¹ ventured not even to make the attempt of appeasing the rage of the multitude: they themselves had reason to fear the anger of the people, and were compelled to seek concealment. This superior class found itself in the most embarrassing situation. Impoverished and deprived of many of their privileges by the tyranny of the government, they were called upon to exercise the same authority over the city, as in the days of their former prosperity and opulence, and even to support greater burthens. The people vehemently demanded of them assistance and relief, which they were incapable of affording; and the Imperial government made them responsible for the insurrection of the people, which they could neither prevent nor suppress.

The incensed populace had already set fire to the house of the most distinguished citizen, when a body of soldiers, which had been previously expected, arrived and repulsed them. The rebellion was in a short time put down. All those who were taken in the act of crime, of every sex and age, were immediately condemned and executed by order of the governor, who dreaded the displeasure of the emperor. But this was not enough: the violent temper

¹ The *curiales*, *decuriones*, *πολιτευομενοι*.

of Theodosius was well known, and an insurrection, in which the busts of the imperial family had been insulted, was sufficient in those days to call down ruin upon a whole city. Messengers¹ were dispatched to Constantinople to report the events, which had taken place, and to demand instructions from the emperor. Until his final decision became known at Antioch, the most painful fluctuations of hope and fear prevailed. It behoved the preacher of the Gospel to take this changing mood into consideration. Chrysostom had frequently reproved the frivolous and wicked disposition of those idlers, who spent the greatest part of their time in the theatre, and had taken the most active part in this insurrection. He had often required from the Antiochians not to tolerate that sacrilegious feeling, which discovers itself in the profanation of every thing sacred, and in a brutal indifference towards the higher concerns of life. It was remarkable, that on the Sunday preceding the insurrection, he had more particularly called their attention to this subject in a sermon preparatory to the annual fast of Lent,—a time especially consecrated to repentance: “And since,” he concluded, “I have spoken to you concerning blasphemy, one return I require for this discourse, that ye bring to a sense of their iniquity the blasphemers in this city. Should ye hear any one blaspheme God in the street or in the forum, approach and rebuke him,—hesitate not. If any accuse you, or drag you before the tribunal, follow them; and if the judge demand of you an account, say boldly, that he blasphemed the King of angels. For if ye ought

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. I.

¹ Curiosi, whose office it was to bring the reports from the provinces to Constantinople, and the orders of the government from Constantinople to the provinces.

to punish those, who blaspheme an earthly king, how much rather ought ye to punish those, who mock God. Blasphemy is a common crime, a public wrong; to every one it is permitted to accuse blasphemers. Let Jews and Gentiles confess that the Christians are the Saviours, the guardians, the patrons, and instructors of this city; and let the dissolute and perverted learn, that they must fear the servants of God; that if they utter blasphemy, they must look around them on all sides, trembling at a shadow, in dread lest a Christian overhear and punish them. Have you not heard what John did? He beheld a tyrant subverting the laws of marriage, and he said to him with boldness in the midst of the forum; 'it is not permitted thee to have the wife of thy brother Philip.' I ask thee not to rebuke a tyrant or a judge for a violation of the marriage bond, or for injuries committed against their fellow-creatures; but I demand of you to punish your equal for insults offered by him to the Lord. Had I said to thee, reprove or chastise kings or judges, when they transgress the laws, ye would have called me insane. Yet John did this, and therefore it is not beyond our power. But now at least correct thy fellow-servants,—thine equals,—and though it call down death upon thee, delay not to chastise thy brethren. It shall be to thee as martyrdom, and John was a martyr. He was not indeed commanded to offer up heathen sacrifice, or to worship an idol; but he laid down his head in defence of the sacred law. And do ye contend for truth to the death, and the Lord will fight for you. Make not the cold reply: 'What concerneth it us? We have nothing in common with these men.' With the devil alone we have nothing in common. With

all men we have many things in common. They partake of the same nature with ourselves; they inhabit the same earth; they are nourished by the same food; they have the same Lord; and they are called to the same blessings. Let us not then say, that we have nothing in common with them. This were the voice of Satan, —the enmity of the devil. Let us not utter such things, but rather let us show towards our brethren a becoming solicitude. I promise you surely: I pledge myself, that if all ye, who are here present, watch over the salvation of those who dwell within this city, in a short time the whole city shall be amended. The smaller portion of the citizens is here present, but though in number inferior, in piety it is the most distinguished. Let us then watch over the welfare of our brethren. *One man inspired with holy zeal sufficeth to amend an entire people.*" A few days after he had spoken these words, the insurrection broke out, the consequences of which spread mourning and dismay throughout Antioch. In that age fear had no bounds: despotism had broken the energies of men; and Christianity had not yet imparted to the people that *inward liberty*, which can exist under every form of government, and elevate the soul above earthly power. The forum, formerly crowded with men from remote countries, was now deserted; a few only met each other with shy looks; for they feared to be arrested on suspicion of having taken part in the insurrection. The senators and most distinguished citizens departed from the city to seek a refuge for themselves and for their families. The young men, who had come to study at Antioch, likewise fled.¹

¹ We have also a severe lecture by Libanius concerning

Hom. ad.
Pop. Anti-
och. II.

During the first seven days of this excitement Chrysostom had remained silent, not expecting to command attention, while the public mind was thus deeply engrossed. He at length came forward with a discourse of Christian consolation combined with an exhortation to repentance: "The Christian," he said, "must distinguish himself from the believer by nobly enduring all things. Sustained by the hopes of futurity, he should be above the attack of human ills. The believer standeth upon a rock unsubdued by the assaults of the waves. Should the billows of temptation be lifted up, they shall not reach his feet. He hath placed himself beyond the power of every attack. Let us not then, my beloved, allow our courage to sink. We watch not so anxiously over our salvation, as doth God, who made us. We are not so grieved at our afflictions as he is, who hath gifted us with a soul, and bestowed upon us so many other blessings. Uphold yourselves by these hopes, and listen with the wonted attention to the words, which I now address to you. I lately held to you a lengthened discourse in reliance upon your affection for me. I beheld all dwell upon my words, and no one retire from the body of the church. I thank you for your zeal, and I have received the reward of my labour. But at the same time I asked of you an additional return. It may be, that ye know and recollect it. What was that return? That ye should punish and bring to a sense of their iniquity the blasphemers within our city; that ye should restrain the licentious, and those who treat God with

the great number of the fugitives, and particularly addressed to the young men, who willingly availed themselves of the circumstances of the times, as an excuse to hasten away. Vid. Liban. Tom. II. f. 296.

contumely. I believe not that these words proceeded from myself, but that they were laid in my heart by God, who looketh into futurity. For had we punished those, who have ventured upon such crimes, the present evils would never have come upon us. How far better had it been, since danger was to be incurred, to have suffered in chastising the blasphemers, and bringing them to a sense of their iniquity, which would have gained for us a crown of martyrdom, than now to fear and tremble, and await death on account of their licentiousness. Behold the crime originated in a few; but the reproach is universal. Behold for their offence we all now tremble, and ourselves pay the penalty of crimes committed by them. Had we anticipated them, cast them out of the city, brought them to a sense of their iniquity and healed the sick members, we should not have experienced our present anxiety. I know, that from olden times the manners of our city have been virtuous; but some foreigners, a promiscuous band, wicked and destructive men, despairing of their own salvation, have dared to commit these iniquities. Wherefore I have not ceased constantly to cry out, and bear witness against them. Let us then punish the fury of these blasphemers; let us bring them to a sense of their iniquity; let us consult their welfare; and though the performance of this duty bring with it death, it will be to us a gain. Let us not behold with indifference our common Lord insulted. Such neglect will call down some heavy calamity upon our city.

“These things I foretold to you; they have now come to pass; and we pay the penalty of our indifference. Ye suffered God to be outraged. Lo! God hath permitted, that the

Emperor should be insulted, and that extreme danger should impend over us all, that by our present fear we may make retribution for our past neglect. Did I then vainly or thoughtlessly foretell these events, and constantly weary therewith your love? Yet was nothing done; but let it now be accomplished; and rendered wise by our present calamity, let us put a check upon the lawless rage of the blasphemers; let us stop their mouths; let us close them as deadly fountains; let us turn them in an opposite course; and the calamities, which have befallen our city, will be stayed." Observing that his words were received with the vain signs of applause,¹ which had unfortunately been transferred to the church from the rostrum, the theatre, and the schools of the² Rhetoricians, he exclaimed: "The church is not a theatre, in which we should listen to be amused. We must depart hence amended, having acquired some additional and great benefit. Vainly and irrationally are we here present, if edified but for a season, we afterwards depart barren without having profited by the discourse. Of what avail to me are these shouts, this applause and tumult? The praise that I seek is, that ye show forth in your works the things which I have spoken to you. Then shall I be happy and deserving of envy; not when ye receive me with plaudits, but when with all diligence ye do the things which I have taught you."

He took advantage of the feeling of the moment to impress upon the hearts of his hearers in the following words the vanity of riches and all earthly possessions: "Paul, when exhorting the rich not to be high-minded, taught them

¹ κροτος.

² The Sophists.

the way to guard against it. They were to examine the uncertain and treacherous nature of riches. Wherefore he said: 'nor trust in uncertain riches.' He is not rich, who possesseth much; but he who distributeth much. Abraham was rich, but loved not his wealth: he regarded not the house of this man, nor the substance of that man; but, going forth, he looked around for the stranger and the needy, that he might succour poverty; that he might entertain the wayfarer. He covered not his ceilings with gold, but, fixing his tent near the oak, he was contented with the shade of its leaves. Yet so bright was his dwelling, that angels were not ashamed to tarry with him; for they sought not splendour of abode, but purity of soul. Let us, my beloved, imitate Abraham, and dispense our goods to those, who are in need. Rudely prepared was his habitation, but more splendid than the halls of kings. No king ever entertained angels; but Abraham sitting under the oak, and having his tent pitched, was accounted worthy of that honor. Neither was he thus distinguished on account of the lowliness of his dwelling; but he enjoyed this gift, because of the purity of his soul, and the treasures therein deposited. Let us not then adorn our houses, but rather our souls. Is it not a disgrace thoughtlessly to adorn our walls with marble, but to neglect the necessities of our Christian brethren. Of what use to thee, O man! is thy palace? Canst thou take it up and depart with it? But thy soul thou canst take up entire, and carry along with thee. Lo! now, that so great peril hath come upon us, let our palaces aid us; let them deliver us from the impending danger, but they cannot. And ye are my witnesses, who, leaving your palaces

Tim. VI. 17.

desolate and flying to the wilderness, shun them as snares and nets. Let riches now assist us; but the present is no season for them. If the influence of riches be insufficient to appease the anger of man, much less will be their power before the divine and implacable seat of judgment. If gold now availeth us nothing against an irritated and wrathful man, its power will entirely vanish before the displeasure of God, who needeth not gold. Let us build houses to dwell in, not to make of them a vain display. That which exceedeth our necessities is superfluous and useless. Bind on a sandal larger than thy foot, and thou wilt not be able to endure it. It will impede thy walking. Thus also a house greater than is necessary impedeth thy passage to heaven. Wouldst thou raise vast and splendid habitations? I forbid them not; but let them not be on earth. Build tabernacles in heaven,—tabernacles imperishable. Why ravest thou about transitory things, things which remain on earth. Nothing is more deceitful than wealth; to-day with thee, to-morrow against thee. It armeth on all sides the eyes of the envious. It is a hostile warrior in thine own tent, an enemy in thine own house; and ye, who possess it, are my witnesses, who in every mode are burying and concealing it. For wealth now rendereth your danger more imminent. Thou beholdest the poor ready and well girded, prepared for all things; but the wealthy contending with great difficulties,—running to and fro,—seeking where they may bury their gold, or with whom they may deposit it. Whom seekest thou, O man? Thy fellow slave. Christ standeth ready to receive the trust, and preserve it for thee, and not only to preserve it, but to add to it, and restore it to

thee with much increase. Out of his hand can no one wrest it. He requireth not thanks of thee, as men do ; but he himself giveth thee a recompense. Thou art a stranger and pilgrim upon earth. Thou hast thy father-land in heaven. Deposit everything there, that thou may taste the recompense here below, before its full enjoyment above. For he, who is nourished by good hopes, and confideth in the things to come, hath already a foretaste here of the kingdom of heaven. For nothing is so fitted to renew, and to amend the soul, as the good hope of futurity, if thou deposit thy wealth above, and provide for thy soul with a becoming diligence. For they, who exhaust all their care in the embellishment of their houses, who are rich in outward, but neglect the inward goods, leave their souls desolate and unclean, full of spider's webs. But they, who neglect outward things, and who devote all their attention to their spiritual welfare, and seek every opportunity of edification, the souls of such men will become a dwelling for Christ. But what greater blessing can there be, than to have Christ dwell within us?—Wouldst thou be rich? make God thy friend ; and thou shalt be wealthier than all other men. Wouldst thou be rich? be not high-minded ;—to be so is neither profitable for things future, nor for things present ; for no one is so envied as a rich man. And if to wealth be added pride, a two-fold precipice is prepared, and the war on all sides becometh more perilous. But if thou conduct thyself modestly, thou disarmest by humility the tyranny of envy, and retainest thy possessions in security. For such is the nature of virtue, that it not only aideth us in things to come, but it giveth us already a recompense here. Let us not then be high-

mind-ed, because of our wealth or aught beside. For if he fall and be lost, who is high-minded in spiritual things, much more shall he, who is high-minded in carnal things. Let us be mindful of our nature; let us review our sins; let us learn what we are; and this will be to us an adequate cause for all humility. Tell me not, that thou hast treasured up the revenues of so many years,—countless talents of gold,—gains added unto every day. All thy reasonings will be vain. Oftentimes in one hour, in one decisive moment, as when the wind rusheth down from above upon the loose dust, all such things are borne away from thy dwelling. Life is full of such examples; the scripture of such lessons. To-day rich; to-morrow poor. Wherefore I have often laughed, when reading in wills, that one man should have the propriety of an estate or house, another the usufruct thereof. Any one may have the usufruct, but no one can have the propriety of a possession. For though wealth, without undergoing any change, remain with us all the days of our lives, in the end we must, whether we will or not, cede it to others, having indeed enjoyed the use of it, but, naked and deprived of our lordship, departing to another life. Whence it is manifest, that they alone have the propriety of possessions, who have despised their usufruct, and derided their enjoyment, as far as concerned themselves. For he, who rejecteth his goods, and giveth them to the poor, useth them as was fit, and departeth retaining a lordship over them; neither cedeth he them in death itself; but in the hour of the day of judgment, when he shall most need succour, and shall have to render an account of his deeds, he shall receive them all and many more besides. If then any man desire to have

the lordship and use of his goods, let him free himself from them all. For if he do not this, he will in death be separated from them altogether; yea! oftentimes before death he shall lose them, amid perils and innumerable misfortunes. Nor is the suddenness of the change the only evil; the rich man cometh likewise unprepared to the endurance of property. Not so the poor man. He hath not trusted in his gold and silver,—in lifeless blocks;—‘but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy.’ Value not then riches, but rather the fear of God and piety. Lo! were now a righteous man among us,—one, who had a stedfast trust in God,—were he even the poorest of men,—he would have the power to free us from our present sufferings. He needed only to raise his hands to heaven, and invoke God, and these clouds would pass away.”

I Tim. VI.
17.

After Chrysostom had held this discourse, a further opportunity of working upon the minds of his congregation presented itself. Bishop Flavian, notwithstanding his advanced age, his infirm state of health, and other circumstances, which might have prevented him, was induced by a paternal solicitude towards his flock, to undertake a journey to Constantinople for the purpose of making a personal application to the Emperor. In the mean time, the fast of forty days preceding Easter had commenced, which always produced a remarkable change in the lives both of the rich and poor, and was wont to give to the whole city a different aspect. The public amusements were suspended, and the people assembled daily in the Church to offer up prayers, and hear the divine word. The calamity of the times augmented the severity of the fast, and led the people to repentance; and

Hom. ad
Pop.
Antioch.
III.

John X. 11.

Tit. II. 14.

bereft of human aid, they were the more disposed to seek refuge in God. After the departure of the Bishop, Chrysostom had, without doubt, the chief direction of affairs in the diocese. In the first discourse which he held after Flavian's departure, he pourtrayed to the people the paternal love of their Bishop: "When I behold that vacant throne deserted, and without its master, I at the same time both weep and rejoice. I weep, because I see not our father present, but I rejoice, that he hath undertaken this journey for our preservation, and hath departed to snatch from the fury of the Emperor so great a multitude. This is to you, an ornament; to him, a crown. An ornament to you, because ye have chosen such a father,—a crown to him, because he is attached with so much tenderness to his children, and hath confirmed by his works the words of Christ. For having been taught, that: 'the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep,' he departed ready to lay down his life for us all. Still there were many obstacles to his departure,—many circumstances inducing him to stay;—his advanced age; his bodily infirmity; the season of the year; the necessity of his presence at the approaching festival; his only sister lying at the point of death. But he disregarded alike old age, infirmity of body, the ties of consanguinity, the asperity of the season, and the difficulties of the journey; and preferring to everything your deliverance, he broke through all these bonds, and as a youth the old man hasteneth, borne upon the wings of zeal. For if, said he, Christ 'gave himself for us,' what excuse should we have, or what pardon should we deserve, were we, to whom he hath committed the care of so great a flock, not ready to do and to suffer all

things, for the salvation of those entrusted to us. For if, said he, the patriarch Jacob, when set over cattle, feeding irrational sheep, and about to render an account to man, passed sleepless nights, and endured heat, frost, and every extreme of weather, that none of his flock might perish;—much more behoveth it us, who are not set over irrational, but spiritual sheep, and are not about to render an account of our stewardship to man, but to God, to be watchful and to face every danger for the sake of our flock. For inasmuch as this flock is better than that flock,—men better than brutes, and God higher than man; in the same degree ought we to exhibit a far more exceeding diligence and zeal.” He then endeavoured to inspire them with hope: “God will not overlook such great readiness and zeal. He will not permit his servant to depart without having accomplished his purpose. I know that his appearance will suffice to appease the wrath of the pious emperor. For not the speech alone, but the aspect of holy men is full of spiritual grace. Moreover he is filled with much wisdom, and experienced in the divine laws, he will speak to the Emperor, as Moses spake to God: ‘Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin;—and if not, blot me, I pray thee out of thy book, which thou hast written.’ For holy men are so filled with love, that they had rather die with their children, than live without them. He will also call the Holy Festival of Easter to his aid; he will remind him of the season, in which Christ remitted the sins of the whole world. He will exhort him to imitate his Lord; he will recall to his memory the parable of the ten thousand talents, and the hundred pence. I know the fearless sincerity of our father,—he

Gen.
XXXI. 40.

Exod.
XXXII. 32.

Matt.
XVIII. 32,
33.

will not hesitate to alarm him by this parable and say : take heed that thou hear not at the last day : ‘ O ! thou, wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desiredst me : shouldest thou not also have compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee ?’ To these words he will add the prayer, which the Emperor was taught to offer up by those, who gave him the instruction preparatory to Holy Baptism, and taught him to pray, and say : ‘ Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.’ He will then shew, that the transgression of the city was not general, but proceeded from certain strangers and adventurers, who did nothing with reason, but conducted themselves with audacity and lawlessness ; that it would not be just for the folly of a few to rase so great a city, and to punish those, who have committed no wrong ; and that, though all had sinned, they have made sufficient atonement, having been consumed by fear so many days, expecting each day to die, driven away, fugitives, living more miserably than criminals, bearing their blood in their hands, and insecure of their lives. Be satisfied, he will say, with this punishment, and proceed not further in thy wrath. Render the judge above merciful to thee by thy mercy towards thy fellow servants. Consider the greatness of the city, and that it is not a question of one, two, three or ten souls, but of thousands innumerable, of the head of the whole world. For this is the city, in which Christians first assumed their name. Honour Christ ; respect that city, in which was first proclaimed to men that high and cherished appellation. There was the resort of the Apostles ; there the dwelling place of the just. This is the first instance of sedition against those in power,

and all past time testifieth for the manners of this city. Had its inhabitants constantly rebelled, it might have been necessary to have condemned them for their iniquity. But since in the lapse of time this hath only once come to pass, it is evident, that the transgression hath not arisen from the corruption of the city; but from the lawlessness of those adventurers, who to our misfortune audaciously and foolishly entered it. These things will the Bishop say; yea, more than these, and with still greater confidence. To these things will the Emperor listen. We have a faithful Bishop and a benevolent Emperor,—on either side good hope; but far more than the fidelity of the teacher or the humanity of the Emperor, do we place our trust in the mercy of God; for while the Emperor is being implored, and the Bishop is imploring, God himself will stand between, will soften the heart of the Emperor, and animate the speech of the Bishop.” He then sought to turn their thoughts to God: “I have beheld many afflicted and cast down while they exclaimed: ‘The King’s wrath is as the roaring of a lion.’ What shall we say to these men? That he, who spake: ‘The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid, and the lion shall eat straw like the ox,’ will be able to convert this lion into a gentle lamb. Let us, therefore, call upon God, and he will deliver us from all danger. Let us assist our father with our prayers. The united prayers of a congregation avail much, when they proceed from troubled souls and contrite hearts. We are not called upon to cross the sea, or to undertake a far journey. Each of us, both man and woman, either at home or in the church, may with heart-felt fervour invoke the Almighty, and he will

Prov. XIX.
12.

Isaiah
6, 7.

surely hear our prayers. Wherefore do I know this? Because it is his good pleasure, that we should ever take refuge with him,—ask him for every thing,—and neither act, nor speak without him. It is the manner of men, that when we constantly burthen them with our affairs, they become wearied and displeased with us;—far different is it with God. Not when we continually have recourse to him in our concerns, but when we have it not,—then is he most incensed. Hear how he accuseth the Jews, saying: ‘Woe to the rebellious children, that take counsel, but not of me; and that cover with a covering, but not of my spirit.’ For this is the way of those who love; they desire that the affairs of the beloved one should all be regulated by them; that without them they should neither act nor speak.”

Isaiah
XXX. 1:

He pointed out to the Antiochians the great comfort to be derived from a communion with the church, a communion, which the present calamity and Fast contributed to render peculiarly sincere. He said: “We derive no ordinary consolation from the present season; for we daily meet together, and rejoice in hearing the Divine Word; we daily behold each other; pour forth together our sorrows and supplications; and before we return home receive the common blessing. All these things lighten our affliction.” Again: “The forum is deserted, but the church is filled. That giveth cause for grief; this for spiritual gladness. When, therefore, ye come to the forum and groan at the sight of its desolation, fly to your spiritual mother, and she will straightwise console you with the multitude of her children; will discover to you the united band of brethren, and dispel your grief. We seek for men, in the city, as in

Hom. ad
Pop. An-
tioch. VI.

Hom. ad
Pop. An-
tioch. IV.

a desert; but if we take refuge in the church, we are thronged by the multitude. As when the sea is lifted up, and driven by the raging storm, terror constraineth those without to fly into the harbours, so now the tempest, which hath burst upon our city, hurrieth every one from all directions into the church, and uniteth its members by the bond of love." Again: "Whence could ye derive consolation, if we did not console you? The authorities of this world terrify you, — the ministers of the Gospel strengthen you; — the church, our common mother, openeth daily her bosom, to welcome you as her children." He described the salutary effects of misfortune, which testified themselves in the altered manners of the Antiochians:

Hom. ad
Pop. An-
tioch. VI.

"Let us not then, my beloved, grieve on account of the terror, which we now experience; but rather let us give thanks to God, that he hath awakened us from our carelessness to a greater diligence. For say what injury hath arisen from this anxiety and grief? Is it an injury, that we have been rendered more reasonable, more diligent, and watchful? that we now meet no man intoxicated, or singing unchaste songs? that the greater portion of those, whom we behold are either praying or in tears? or that senseless laughter, unbecoming discourse, and licentiousness are banished; so that our city may be likened unto a modest matron." Again: "How many words have we expended in admonishing the thoughtless to abandon the theatre and its licentious show? and they would not. But always unto this day they ran to witness the illicit exhibitions of the dancers; they placed their Satanic assembly opposite to the congregation of the church of God, and the vehement shouts they raised from thence re-

Hom. ad
Pop. An-
tioch. VI.

Hom. ad
Pop. An-
tioch. XV.

sponded to our notes of praise. Lo! now, although we are silent, they have of their own accord closed the orchestra, and the Circus is no longer frequented. Formerly many of our people ran thither; but now all have fled thence into the church, and all give praise to our God. Our city becometh each day more purified; the alleys, the streets, the forum, are freed from meretricious and unmanly songs. On all sides are heard supplications and benedictions; tears have succeeded to immoderate laughter; words of wisdom to licentious converse. The whole city hath become a church; the shops are closed; the entire day is passed in these public prayers; and all with one common voice fervently call upon God. What reasoning, what counsel, what admonition, what length of time could have effected these things?" His profound knowledge of human nature rendered him aware, that these sudden and strong impressions of the moment are often effaced, as quickly as they are made: against this he thus cautioned them:¹ "I foretell and testify, that

Hom. ad
Pop. An-
tioch. III.

¹ In a similar manner Chrysostom availed himself of the impression which an earthquake at Antioch had made upon the minds of men. *Concio de Lazaro VI.* "Did ye see the power, the mercy of God? His power when he shook the earth; his mercy, when he stayed it reeling? or rather in both mercy and power. The earthquake hath passed away; but let your dread remain. That shock hath past; but let not pass your fear of God. We dedicated three days to prayer; but let us not relax our zeal. On account of our remissness this earthquake came to pass. We were slothful, and called it down upon us. We became zealous, and the wrath of God was stilled. Let us not then return to our sloth, lest we again call down upon us divine anger and punishment. For God "hath no pleasure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live." *Ezek. XXXIII. 11.* Behold how frail is the race of man! When the earthquake took place, I thus meditated within

if this cloud pass over, and we still remain in our former state of supineness, we shall have to endure misfortunes, heavier than those we now dread. For even now I fear not so much the wrath of the Emperor, as your supineness. Two or three days of prayer suffice not to expiate our sin, but an entire change of life is necessary, that, renouncing evil, we may remain in the constant practice of virtue. As three or four days of discipline avail nought to the sick, if they live not perseveringly according to rule; so an amendment of two or three days profiteth nought to sinners, without a continued exercise of wisdom. Let us not then again conduct ourselves, as heretofore. For oftentimes when earthquakes, famine, or a drought have stricken us, we amended our lives for three or four days, and then returned to our former habits, wherefore this calamity hath now befallen us. But though we formerly sinned, let us now at least persevere in piety, and maintain ourselves in soberness, that we may not require another scourge.

Whilst he enjoined the Antiochians to an attendance at church, as a means of consolation, he at the same time warned them against the mistake of imagining, that the mere act of frequenting the church was doing service to God: "We assemble not in the church to pass away the time, but to gain some great benefit for our souls. If therefore we depart without profit, our zeal in frequenting the church will prove our condemnation. That so great a judgment

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. V.

me. Where now are robberies? where covetousness? where unjust rule? where is pride? where principalities? where oppressions? where the spoilers of the poor? where the pomp of the rich,—the sway of princes? where threats? where fears? one moment of time hath torn asunder, hath destroyed all these things, more easily than the webs of spiders. The wailings of the city were heard, and all ran to the church.

come not upon you, when ye go hence, ponder the things ye have heard, and exercise yourselves in confirming our instruction,—friend with friend,—fathers with their children,—masters with their slaves,—so that when ye return hither; and hear from us the same counsels, ye may not be ashamed, but rejoice and be glad in the conviction, that ye have put into practice the greater part of our exhortation. Not only must we meditate upon these things here,—for this short exhortation sufficeth not to eradicate the evil,—but at home let the husband be reminded of them by the wife, and the wife by the husband, and let an emulation obtain in families to the fulfilment of the divine law.” Again: “When thou returnest home, converse on these subjects with all thine house: as some, when returning from the meadows, take home to their families garlands of roses, or violets, or some such flowers; others, branches laden with fruit, from the gardens; or the superfluous dainties from costly feasts: in like manner do thou, when thou departest hence, carry admonitions to thy wife, children, and dependants. For these counsels are more profitable to thee, than flowers, fruits, or feasts. These roses never wither; these fruits never decay; these meats never corrupt. The former impart a transitory pleasure; the latter ensure a lasting advantage, an enjoyment both present and to come. Behold! how good a thing it is, having dismissed from our thoughts public and private affairs, ever to converse on the divine laws at table, in the forum, and in all assemblies. If we thus occupy ourselves, we shall not utter perilous and offensive words, neither shall we unguardedly be led to sin; but engaged in holy discourse, we shall be able

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. VI.

to emancipate our souls from the heaviness, by which they are now oppressed. Instead of the accustomed anxiety with which we are wont to ask each other: 'Hath the emperor heard the events which have occurred?' 'Is he incensed?' 'What sentence hath he pronounced?' 'Hath any one appeased him?' 'Can he persuade himself utterly to destroy so great and populous a city?' *Casting these and similar cares upon God* we shall solely heed the observance of *his commandments*. Thus will all our present sorrows pass away. If only ten among us be righteous, the ten will become twenty, the twenty fifty, the fifty a hundred, the hundred a thousand, and the thousand will become the entire city. As when ten lamps are kindled, a whole house may easily be filled with light; so it is with the progress of spiritual things. If but ten among us lead a holy life, we shall kindle a fire which shall light up the entire city, and we shall obtain for ourselves security. For more mighty, than the flame enkindleth the surrounding forest, when it hath seized *one* tree; shall the zeal for virtue, when it hath seized a few souls, fill in its onward course the whole city."

While Chrysostom recommended the period of the Fast, as an opportunity afforded for reflection, self-examination, and repentance, he at the same time warned his congregation against the prevailing error, that mere fasting was pleasing to God. At the commencement of the Fast he said: "When I speak of fasting, I mean not that fasting, which is commonly observed, but *the true fasting*; abstinence not from food, but from sin; for fasting availeth nought, unless accompanied by a fit state of mind. Paul saith: 'The man, who striveth for masteries is not crowned, except he strive lawfully.'

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och III.

2 Tim. II.5.

Luk. XVIII.
10—14.

The Pharisee fasted ; but, after fasting, he departed without having derived fruit from his fasting. The Publican fasted not, and yet the Publican, who fasted not, was preferred to the Pharisee, who fasted ; that we might know, that fasting of itself profiteth nothing. The inhabitants of Nineveh fasted, and obtained the divine favour ; the Jews fasted and effected nought ; but were condemned by God. Let us then inquire what averted the wrath of God from Nineveh ? Was it fasting and the putting on of sackcloth ? Certainly not ; but it was an entire change of life. Whence doth this appear ? Even from the words of the Prophet ; for he who spake concerning the wrath of God, and their fasting, the same declared the reconciliation of God, and the cause of that reconciliation, saying thus : ‘and God saw their works.’

Jonæ III. 10.

What works ? their fasting ? their wearing of sackcloth ? No ! having passed over all these things in silence, he added : ‘that they turned from their evil way, and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them.’ Ye see that fasting rescued them not from peril, but that a change of life rendered God merciful towards them. I have not said this to undervalue fasting ; but to honour it. For to honour fasting is not to abstain from food, but to depart from sin. He who limiteth fasting to an abstinence from food, he it is who discovereth contempt for it. Dost thou fast ? Prove it to me by thine actions. By what actions ? If thou see a poor man, take pity upon him. If thou behold an enemy, reconcile thyself unto him. Not only the mouth but every sense must fast. What profiteth it to abstain from birds and fish, if we devour our brother with hatred ?”

Again, he said : “ Of what advantage to us is abstinence from food, if we lay not aside the evil habits of our souls? Behold we have passed this entire day without food, and our tables will this evening be spread more sparingly, than on yester eve. Can any one of us say, that he hath this day with his table altered his course of life? That with his sustenance he hath given up one evil habit? I think not. Of what advantage then is fasting? Wherefore I exhort you;—and shall not cease exhorting you,—to devote two or three days to the special consideration and practice of each commandment. Since there are many, who with exceeding contention emulate each other in fasting,—some dispensing with food for two entire days; others during the forty days not only removing from their table oil and wine, but all food except bread and water,—let us rival one another in abolishing the frequency of oaths; for this will be more profitable than fasting—more effectual than mortification of the body. The same zeal, which we display in abstinence from food, let us discover in abstinence from oaths; for we shall expose ourselves to the reproach of extreme folly, if we regard not things forbidden, but direct all our zeal to things indifferent.”

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. V.

After the second week of the Fast had elapsed, he said : “ We have now concluded the second week of the Fast; but let us not on this account ascribe to ourselves merit, for the celebration of the Fast requireth not only abstinence from food, but likewise the performance of good works. Let us rather consider, whether we have become more earnest? whether we have corrected any one of our faults? whether we have cleansed ourselves from sin? It is a general custom on the fortieth day to inquire how

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. V.

many weeks each person hath fasted? and some reply that they have fasted two, others three, others all the weeks. But what availeth it, if they have kept the Fast without having performed good works: should any one say to thee, ‘I have fasted forty days,’ reply: ‘I had an enemy, with whom I have reconciled myself; I had the bad habit of speaking ill of others, and this I have laid aside; I was wont to swear, and have forsaken this wicked custom.’”

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. IX.

Many persons could not endure fasting until the hour of divine service, which was performed every evening during Lent; and scrupled to attend the church after their mid-day meal. Chrysostom having observed, that this prejudice occasioned a great deficiency in the number of his congregation, remonstrated against it: “Had it been wrong to hear the word of God after partaking of food, Christ would not have held so long a discourse after the Holy Supper. Having fed the multitude in the wilderness, he would not, had it been improper, have addressed them after the repast. If it be permitted me to speak that, which seemeth strange, at that time is the blessing of the Divine Word most beneficial. For if thou know, that after eating and drinking, thou wilt have to join the congregation, thou wilt be temperate, albeit against thine inclination, and never be betrayed into intoxication or excess. Not he, who hath eaten and drunken, is an unprofitable hearer of the Divine Word; but he who listeneth not with attention, who gapeth or is listless, who hath his body here, but his mind wandering elsewhere. Such a one, though he had fasted, would be an unprofitable hearer.”

His representations had the effect of filling the church at the next celebration of divine

service ; and he said on this occasion : “ He who hath broken his fast, and cometh here with becoming sobriety, is not greatly excelled by him, who fasteth ; as, on the other hand, he who hath fasted, and heareth not with earnestness and attention the divine word, will derive little fruit from fasting. For he, who taketh food, and joineth this holy assembly with fitting zeal, is far better than he, who hath taken no food, and is absent. Abstinence from food will profit us less, than participation in spiritual instruction.”

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. X.

Among the prevailing faults, which during this period of suspense he called upon his congregation to lay aside, he chiefly dwelt upon the trifling with oaths. This levity not only diminished the respect, in which an oath ought to be held, and increased the number of perjuries ;¹ but many were thereby misled in moments of passion to bind themselves by oaths, of which they repented in cooler blood, and by which their peace of mind was fearfully compromised. In the eighth Homily delivered by Chrysostom during this turbulent period, he says : “ Often have we sworn under the influence of anger and passion, never to be reconciled to those, who have offended us, and when, after anger had become extinguished, and passion had subsided, we would gladly have been reconciled to them, we lamented that we were bounden by an oath ; detained, as it were, in a snare ; and chained by indissoluble bonds.” Chrysostom censured not this habit of inconsiderate swearing upon the

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. VIII.

¹ Compare with this the rebuke, which Bishop Basil of Casarea makes on this account in the name of his colleagues to a tax-gatherer, who excited the country people to inconsiderate swearing. Ep. 305. Tom. III. opp. ed. Garnier.

ground of its inducing men to infringe upon the sanctity of an oath ; but because it violated that strict law of truth, delivered in the Sermon on the Mount, which he regarded as peculiarly incumbent upon every Christian to observe,—that simple veracity of the members of God’s kingdom on earth, whose yea and nay were to be their strongest asseveration. In the meanings which men at different periods attached to this command of the sermon on the mount, they ran into the opposite extremes of error. At first they viewed it more according to the letter, than the spirit of the law, and thence were led to a superstitious avoidance of all oaths whatever. In later times, that Christianity might be brought into harmony with the social condition of life, they so far relaxed the rigour of our Lord’s command, and so far forgot the sincerity and truth, required by the Gospel, as to apply the passage only to inconsiderate swearing.¹ The Christians of the first centuries had understood that command literally, and therefore refrained from all forms of asseveration, except

¹ Even Augustin seems to incline to this view of the subject ; for in his explanation of those words of our Saviour in Tom. I. of his work *de Sermone Domini in monte*, from a comparison with the forms of asseveration, to be found in the Epistles of St. Paul, he draws the conclusion, that Christ could not have had the design to forbid all kinds of oaths, and then adds : “ *ita ergo intelligitur præcessisse Dominum ne juretur, ne quisquam sicut bonum appetat jusjurandum, et assiduitate jurandi ad perjurium per consuetudinem delabatur.*” But from the following, it appears, that Augustine understood rightly that saying of our Lord, viz. the demand that strict truth and mutual trust should render every oath among Christians superfluous,—a demand, which real life could only respond to in the spirit. The words : “ *whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil,*” (Matt. V. 37) he explains “ *De necessitate infirmitatis eorum, quibus aliquid suades. Quæ infirmitas utique malum est, unde nos quotidie liberari deprecamur.*”

yea and nay; and many serious Christians in the days of Chrysostom imposed it upon themselves as a law, from the time, that the reception of Baptism marked a new period in their lives. Chrysostom was therefore of opinion, that the entire abolition of oaths was not only the most secure way to suppress inconsiderate swearing, and to remove every temptation to perjury; but he believed, that a veracity, such as would render superfluous every other kind of asseveration,¹ belonged peculiarly to the Christian, inasmuch as his higher privileges elevate him above the standard of the Mosaic dispensation, which had been lowered to meet the infirmities of sensual men. On this account he availed himself of the religious feelings inspired by the fast, and augmented by the disturbed state of public affairs, not only strongly to condemn the thoughtless habit of swearing; but also to impress upon the hearts of his congregation the literal observance of our Saviour's command. Thus he said: "The Church hath not been built, that we should swear in it, but that we should pray in it. The altar standeth not there, that we should adjure our brethren. It standeth there, that we should loose, not bind, sins. If thou fear nothing else, fear at least the book, which thou offerest for the oath. Open the Gospel, which thou takest in thine hand, when thou commandest thy brother to swear, and having read that, which Christ saith therein

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XV.

¹ Chrysostom says, Hom. ad Ephes. II. "They say, that we are not believed, because we will not swear; but we obtain stronger belief by our lives, than by oaths. For, tell me wherefore do we discredit some, who swear; and hold others worthy of belief without their swearing? An oath therefore is clearly unnecessary." In Hom. in Act. Apost. X. he represents the taking of oaths as a stooping to the infirmities of men.

Matt. V.
33—37.
Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. VII.

concerning oaths, tremble and desist.” Again: ‘ If thou take up the book of the Gospel, thou washest first thine hands, and then takest it up with veneration and piety.¹ Wherefore then on every occasion bearest thou lightly on thy tongue the name of the Lord of the Gospel? Hast thou not heard with what awe and wondering adoration the higher powers invoke him? ‘ I saw the Lord,’ saith the prophet, ‘ sitting upon a throne high and lifted up, around him stood the seraphim, and one cried unto another, and said: Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Sabaoth; the whole earth is full of thy glory.’ Behold with what fear and trembling they call upon him, praising him and glorifying him. But thou in thy prayers and supplications, when thou shouldst call upon him with reverence, watchfulness, and sobriety, invokest him with negligence; and in swearing, when thou shouldst on no account bring forward his holy name, thou sufferest manifold oaths to follow one upon another. Thou sayest: what shall I do, if I be compelled to swear? Who will compel thee, O man? Shew, that thou art ready to undergo every suffering, rather than transgress the word of God, and no one will seek to compel thee. It is not an oath which rendereth a man worthy of belief; but the testimony of his life, his upright conduct, and his good name; for many have been unable to convince by a multi-

Isaiah VI.
1—3.

¹ Chrysostom mentions the following external testimonies of respect for the Bible in Hom. in Joh. LIII. towards the end: “ We instantly assume a more earnest mien (*συστελλομεθα*) and wash our hands, when we are about to take up the Bible.” And again: “ Should the woman be unveiled she immediately putteth on her veil, thereby giving a proof of the piety, with which she is filled. And if a man have his head covered, he immediately uncovereth it. Behold how outward forms indicate the inward state of the mind !”

tude of oaths, while others have needed, but to nod, and were esteemed more worthy of belief, than those who had proffered so many oaths." He went so far as to threaten those, who had not renounced the practice of swearing, with exclusion from the Holy Communion until they had overcome that evil habit.¹ When he heard that his representations had made an impression, and that many, having agreed among themselves not to swear, had fixed upon a punishment for him who should violate the compact, he testified his joy upon the occasion, and contented not himself with exhortations in his sermons, but he inquired frequently of individual members of his flock, in what manner his doctrines were observed.² He himself said to his congregation: "I live only for you, and I have no other care, but that of your salvation. Wherefore I bear you all in my heart, not only when I am here, but also when at home."

Hom. ad.
Pop. Anti-
och. IX.

Chrysostom endeavoured to impress upon the hearts of the Antiochians the consolations which Christianity offered to them under their

¹ Vid. Hom. ad Pop. Antioch. XX. § 9. "Being then mindful of my exhortation, compel every one to fulfil this command quickly. And tell me not, I will do it by degrees; nor put it off till the morrow, for the morrow will have no end. The forty days of Lent are now passed, and when the Holy Easter shall have passed, I will then pardon no one; I will not make use of admonition, but of power, and severity not to be despised." In Hom. in Matt. XVIII. Having still more impressively held forth this threat, he added: "Let not the rich man, nor the mighty man be puffed up here, nor knit his brow. It will avail nought with me; it will be a mere fable, a shadow, or a dream; for none of the rich of this world will be able to defend me on that day, when I shall be accused, and called upon to render an account, wherefore I have not with a becoming severity vindicated the injured laws of God."

² Vid. Hom. ad Pop. Antioch. XX. § 9: "ὅτι ἂν συγγενομενος ὑμῖν κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ λαβὼν ἀποπειραν, ληψομαιδε παντως."

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. IV.

sufferings, and the benefit, which they might derive from them. He constantly brought forward his favourite maxim, that nothing of a merely external nature can profit or injure men; but that all depends upon his own free-will: "If we be vigilant, we may profit much by passing events; but a careless life will prove our ruin. For to him who taketh not heed to his soul, the prosperous or the adverse hour will be equally prejudicial; but to the man, who severely watcheth over himself, both will prove an advantage. As gold in water preserveth its peculiar beauty, and issueth from the furnace with augmented lustre; whilst clay dissolveth in water, and hay corrupteth; or in fire, the one is dried up, the other is consumed: even so the righteous man and the sinner. If the righteous man be granted a respite from affliction, he retaineth his purity undiminished, as gold immersed in water; and out of temptation he cometh forth with increased brightness, as gold proved by the fire. Whilst the sinner, if he experience a remission of earthly trials, becometh dissolute and corrupt, as clay or hay in water, and perisheth, if he encounter temptation, as clay or hay in fire. It is not the force of the temptation, but the heedlessness of the tempted man, which worketh his fall."

Daniel III.

The history of the three men in the fiery furnace appears to have nurtured his faith and trust in God from early youth, and proved to him, during his later sufferings, a constant source of comfort.¹ Having alluded to that event, he says in the same sermon: "The Compare with this, Hom. in Matt. XVII. § 7. in which he appeals to the frequency, with which he had admonished the members of his congregation at private meetings to abstain from the habit of swearing.

¹ We will give the following example of the manner in

King, that he might inspire the youths with terror, commanded them to be brought before him into the midst of the multitude. But neither the wrath of the King, nor their standing alone amidst so great a concourse, nor the sight of the furnace, nor the sounding trumpets, nor the indignation, with which they were regarded by all, alarmed them. All these things they derided, and entered the fire, as if about to be let which he applied this history, and how he endeavoured to prove from it the power of a godly mind. Hom. ad 1 Cor. XVIII. § 3: "God was glorified not only by the miracle, but likewise by the resolution of the youths, who were cast into the fire. If any examine into this history, the one part of it will be found not less wonderful, than the other. For that their souls led them to brave the furnace was not less in the nature of a miracle, than was their deliverance. For was it not truly wonderful, that the king of the world, encompassed by innumerable defences, by armies, by generals, by governors, by consuls; that he, to whom the earth and sea were subject, should be despised of captive youths; that the enslaved should vanquish the enslaver; and obtain a victory over that entire host. Already was death overcome, in that Christ was afterwards to appear. And as when the sun is about to rise, and before his rays are seen, the splendid light of day appeareth, so when the Sun of Righteousness was about to come, death from that time receded. What sight could be more glorious? What victory more signal? Which of modern trophies more noble?"

Thus is it in our own days. There is now both a king of a Babylonian furnace, who kindleth a still mightier flame, and there is now also a tyrant, commanding us to worship a similar image. Satraps and soldiers and soft music surround him. Many worship the great image. Neither more nor less is avarice! But there are now also some, who emulate these youths, and who say: 'we will not serve thy gods, nor worship thy image,' Dan. iii. 18. but we will endure the furnace of poverty, and every other evil in obedience to the laws of God. But behold how void of vain-glory were these youths! They leapt not recklessly into the furnace; but observed the precept of Christ, who said: 'pray that ye enter not into temptation.' Matt. xxvi. 41. Neither did their courage fail, when they were about to be cast into the fire, but they fearlessly walked in the midst thereof. They contended not until called upon, but when called upon, they

Daniel III.
18.

down into a cool spring of water, uttering those blessed words: 'we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image, which thou hast set up.' I have not introduced this history without design, but that it might teach you, that neither the anger of the Emperor, nor the assaults of the soldiery, nor the envy of foes, nor captivity, nor want, nor fire, nor the furnace, nor a thousand other dreadful ills shall have power to make the righteous man ashamed,

were found true, prepared for all things, brave and full of joyful confidence. Hear what they spake, and learn thence their great wisdom: 'There is a God in heaven able to deliver us.' Dan. iii. 17. They heeded not their own safety; but being about to be cast into the fire, were only jealous of the honour of God. That ye may not, said they, accuse the weakness of our God, if we be destroyed by the flames, we will declare to you our faith. There is a God in heaven, not such as is this dumb and lifeless image upon earth; but one, who is able to deliver us from the midst of the fiery furnace. Accuse him not then of weakness, in that he hath permitted us to be cast into the fire; for his power is so great, that he can deliver us, after that we shall have been cast therein. And if he deliver us not, be it known to thee, Oh King, that we will not serve thy gods, nor worship the golden image, which thou hast set up. They knew not future dispensations. Had they known them, it would not have been wonderful, that they acted as they did. For would it have been a wonder, if, having had pledges of their deliverance, they went forth to meet the danger? But God was to be glorified by his power to deliver them from the furnace; themselves were not to be admired, in that they rushed not into danger. Therefore God permitted them to be ignorant of the future, that he might honor them the more. And since they sought to dispose the mind of the king, not to accuse God of a want of power, should they be burnt; therefore did God both manifest his own power, and thereby cause the zeal of the youths to shine forth the more. Whence thence arose their doubt, and their distrust of sure deliverance? From thinking lowly of themselves, and deeming that they were unworthy of so great a mercy. And I speak not without thought; for when they were brought before the king, they lamented, saying: 'we are not careful to answer thee in this matter.' Dan. iii. 16. i. e. we have sinned; we

or excite his fear. For if the youths dreaded not the rage of an impious tyrant, how much more ought we, who are ruled by a mild and compassionate Emperor, to be of good confidence, and render thanks to God for this tribulation,—having learnt from the instruction I have this day given you, that in the sight of God and man afflictions ennoble those, who endure them with firmness and resignation. For had these men not been slaves, we had never been made acquainted with their freedom; had they not

are unrighteous men: we are not so much as worthy to open our mouths. They said moreover: ‘But if not:’ Dan. iii. 18. If then they spake not clearly: ‘God is able to deliver us; but if he deliver us not, be not astonished; for it will be on account of our sins;’ yet seemed they to the barbarians to excuse the want of power in God under cover of their own transgressions. Besides speaking solely of the power of God, they assigned no reason for that, which might appear to be his weakness. Moreover they were well instructed, in that they took not upon themselves curiously to inquire of God his judgments. (*πολυπραγμαμονειν θεου τας κρισεις*). Having spoken these things, they were let down into the fire. They neither reviled the King, nor his statue. For thus it behoveth a brave man to be, prudent and meek, so that he appear not to enter upon such contests from anger or vain glory, but in strength and wisdom. For the reviler is open to a suspicion of his motives. But he who endureth, who is called upon to contend, and contendeth meekly, is not only admired for his courage; but is not less proclaimed for his wisdom and meekness. Thus did these youths. They manifested their courage and ther meekness; nor did they ought for the sake of hire, reward, or barter. And though, said they, God deliver us not, yet will we not serve thy gods. We already have our reward, in that we are held worthy of being freed from idolatry, and of having our bodies burnt for the cause of God; and having then this reward,—for we have it,—being deemed worthy of the knowledge of God—and of being members of Christ—let us not make ourselves the members of whoredom. With these solemn words let my discourse be ended; so that having a well-grounded fear of the vengeance of God, we may thereby be rendered purer than gold; and thus delivered from fornication, be enabled to behold Christ.’ ”

been captives, we had never learnt the greatness of their souls ; had they not been destitute of an inferior country, we had never known, that they possessed the virtues of a higher kingdom ; had not an earthly king been incensed against them, we had never heard of the mercy, which a heavenly king manifested towards them. If, therefore, thou have the favor of God, thou shalt not despair, though thou be thrown into the furnace ; as in like manner, if God be incensed against thee, though thou wert in paradise, thy confidence would fail thee. For Adam was in paradise, but after he had displeased God, paradise availed him nothing. These men were in the furnace, but they trusted in God, and the fiery furnace harmed them not. Adam was in paradise, but, because he watched not over himself, he fell. Job sat among the ashes, but was watchful, and overcame. The glory of the spot availed nothing to its inhabitant, when he had betrayed himself, and the wretchedness of the spot injured not him, who was on all sides encompassed by the strong walls of virtue. May we likewise provide security for our souls ; for though fines, though death should be our sentence, if our piety be not taken from us, we shall be most blessed among men." After having introduced the example of Job, he says : " Bearing these things in our minds, let us raise ourselves from this prevailing sorrow ; for I relate this history to you, not that my words may obtain your applause, but that they may induce you to imitate the virtues and endurance of those holy men, and learn from their lives, that of human afflictions none is to be dreaded, save sin alone ; neither poverty, nor sickness, nor reproach, nor slander, nor shame, nor that, which is esteemed the greatest of all evils,—

death. These things are but names to the wise: *the true evil is to offend God, and to do that which displeaseth him.*"¹

Against the illusion of those, who imagined, all suffering, which fell short of martyrdom, to be unfruitful, and who made the virtue of martyrdom to consist not in the spirit of the act, but in the act itself, he said: "Would ye learn the good of this present life? It is the foundation of a life to come, the means whereby to obtain the kingdom of heaven, the arena and stadium of eternal crowns. If it be not this to us, it is worse than a thousand deaths. For it is better to die, than to live and displease God. Neither more nor less is the present life. Behold we not daily the same sun and the same moon? the same winter and the

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. VI.

¹ A favourite idea of Chrysostom, upon which he frequently dwelt with great power. For instance, Hom. in II Cor. I. § 4: "Let us not sink under trials; for no one who is effeminate, or slothful, or remiss,—no one who liveth a soft or dissolute life—hath communion with Christ. But he, who is in sorrows and temptations, and journeyeth the narrow path, is nigh unto him. For he also went that same way, and therefore said: 'The Son of Man hath not where to lay his head.' Matt. VIII. 8. Grieve not then in tribulation, being mindful with whom ye hold communion; how by trials ye are cleansed; and how much advantage ye reap therefrom. For nought is grievous, but the offending God; and save that, neither sorrow, nor persecution, nor any other evil, can trouble the upright soul. And as when a minute spark is cast into the vast deep it is instantly extinguished, in like manner every trouble, however great, when it falleth upon a good conscience, quickly perisheth and vanisheth. Wherefore Paul always rejoiced, because he was bold in the things which were pleasing to God; and it seemed as though he felt not the many evils which he had to undergo. As a man, indeed, he suffered pain; but his courage failed him not. (Ἄλλ' ἤλγει μεν ὡς ἄνθρωπος, οὐ μὴν κατεπιπτεν) Thus also the Patriarch rejoiced, although distressed by many calamities. Exiled from his native land, he entered upon long and difficult wanderings. Arrived in a

same summer? the same occupations of men? ‘the thing, which hath been, it is that, which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done.’ Let us not then blindly deem the living happy, nor lament the dead; but rather let us grieve for those, who are in sin, whether they be living or dead; and on the other hand account the righteous blessed, where-soever they may happen to be. Thou fearest death once, and weepest; but Paul, who died daily, not only shed no tears, but exulted. Thou sayest: Oh! that I might risk my life in the cause of God! I would not heed it.¹ But

strange and trackless country, famine greeted him, and compelled him to go farther. Famine was followed by the taking away of his wife, by the fear of death, by being childless, by war, by dangers, by the ambushments of foes, and by the head of all afflictions—that incurable of griefs—the slaying of his only and beloved son. Nor think, that he obeyed God without an inward contest, or that he underwent these sufferings without a sense of pain. For had he been a thousand-fold just, as of a truth he was, yet was he a man, and subject to the pains of human nature. But none of these things overcame him. He stood as a brave combatant proclaimed and crowned, the victor over all. Thus also the blessed Paul, when beholding himself daily assailed by a storm of trials, rejoiced and was glad, as though he were in the midst of paradise. Since then the man, who possesseth this joy, cannot be made captive by grief; so he, who hath it not, is an easy prey to every misfortune, and suffereth as one, who is feebly harnessed, and wounded by every chance blow. Whereas he, who is on all sides well girded, wardeth off with ease every hostile dart. For the joy, which springeth from a love of God, prevaieth against every weapon, and nought is able to cast down or sadden the man, who possesseth it. He will endure all things nobly.”

¹ In opposition to this idea, Chrysostom observes; Hom. in II Cor. I. § 4: “What sayest thou? there is no occasion now for martyrdom? An occasion is never wanting; but, if we be watchful, it is always before our eyes. For it is not only the being suspended from the tree, which maketh the martyr. Were it so, Job himself had not a martyr’s crown. For he was neither led before the judgment-seat, nor

be not now afraid. For not only he, who suffereth for the cause of God, hath honor before him; but he, who suffereth unjustly, endureth nobly, and blesseth God, who permitteth it, is not less worthy, than the man, who suffereth in the cause of God. The blessed Job was smitten by many and heavy calamities, the devil vainly lying in wait for him; yet because he endured nobly and blessed God, who permitted those things, he crowned his head with a spotless crown. In allusion to the terror and flight of so many Antiochians, after having recalled to them the instance of the penitent inhabitants of Nineveh, he said: "They fled not from the city, as we do now, but they remained and strengthened it. It was a snare, and they made it a defence. It was a gulf, a precipice, and they rendered it a tower of safety. They heard, that the buildings were to be overthrown, and they abandoned not the buildings, but they abandoned sin. They forsook not their houses, as we do now; but they forsook their evil ways, and said: 'The walls have not brought upon us this wrath,—we ourselves have inflicted the wound,—we ourselves must prepare the cure.' Wherefore they sought not their deliverance in a change of place, but in a change of life. Thus did heathens: and are

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. V.

heard he voice of the judge; nor saw he the executioner; for he was not suspended on high from the tree, and flayed; yet he suffered more than many martyrs." And afterwards he says: "When, upon hearing of the loss of worldly possessions, we are not troubled, but say: Blessed be God! we find treasures far more precious. For if thou distribute thy money to the needy, and going forth, seek for the poor, and dispense thy goods to the hungry, thou wilt not gather such great treasure, as thou dost by those words. I admire not Job so much, when he openeth his house to the needy, as I am struck with, and laud, him for bearing with thankfulness the loss of his possessions,"

we not ashamed,—instead of changing our lives, as they did—to change our abode; secretly to convey our property into security; and to be as drunken men. The Lord is incensed against us, and we, forgetful of appeasing his wrath, look over our household goods, and wander to and fro seeking where we may deposit them, when we ought to be seeking, where we may safely deposit our souls; or this indeed we had not need to seek; for to holiness and purity of life we ought to entrust the salvation of our souls. We should not patiently endure the contempt of a servant, who having displeased us, instead of entreating our forgiveness, entered his apartment, collected his cloathes and chattels, bound them together, and prepared his flight. Let us, therefore, desist from this unseasonable striving, and let each of us say to God: ‘whither shall I go from thy spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?’” And in the following discourse he says: “I repeat it—not to accuse the fugitives; for it is written: ‘Add not more trouble to a heart that is vexed;’—nor to reproach you; for the sick man needeth consolation;—but from a sincere desire to amend you. Let us not seek our safety in flight; but let us flee sin; let us turn from our evil way. If we flee sin, though we be surrounded by ten thousand soldiers, not one of them will have power to harm us. But if we flee not sin, though we ascended the tops of the mountains, we shall encounter there enemies innumerable.”

Among the various reports which were fabricated and spread abroad by fear, was the rumour, that troops were advancing to destroy and plunder the city by command of the Emperor. This intelligence so greatly agitated the

Psalm
CXXXIX.
6.

Sirach IV. 3.

public mind, that the civil magistrate,¹ a heathen, considered it necessary to enter the church, and to appease the people by his representations. On account of this weakness, Chrysostom preached to the Antiochians an admonitory discourse: "I admired the solicitude of the magistrate, who, when he beheld the city troubled, and every one contemplating flight, came hither, comforted you, and animated you with better hope; but for your sakes I was ashamed, that, after so many exhortations, ye needed consolation from a heathen. I wished that the earth might open and swallow me, when I heard him address you, at one moment exhorting you, at another, censuring your unreasonable and irrational terror. It was not fitting that ye should have been instructed by him; ye ought to have been instructors to the heathen. Paul forbade us to go to law before the unbelievers; but ye, after having received so many admonitions from the fathers, stand in need of heathen instructors; and have permitted fugitives and worthless miscreants again to alarm, and turn to flight this great city. With what eyes in future shall we behold the heathens, being ourselves so faint-hearted and cast down? In what words shall we address them, and persuade them to meet with firmness the coming evils, rendered, as we have been by this alarm, more timid than the very hares? Ye say: what shall we do? We are but men. On that very account, because ye are men, and not irrational creatures, ye ought not to suffer yourselves to be thus troubled. The brutes are scared by noise and brawl; for they are destitute of reason, and cannot overcome fear; but

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XVI.

¹ Comes Orientis.

how can ye, who are endowed with reason and reflection, lower yourselves to their irrationality? If a messenger arrive, and announce an impending attack from soldiers, be not disquieted, but having dismissed him, throw thyself upon thy knees, and call upon thy God. Groan deeply within thee, and he will repel the danger. Thou hast been terrified by the false alarm of an approach of soldiers, and imagined thyself in danger of being removed from this present life; but the holy Job, when he had heard the sad tidings of many successive messengers, and lastly, the dreadful loss of his children, complained not, nor groaned; but gave himself up to prayer, and blessed the Lord. Imitate therefore him, and when any one cometh with the intelligence, that soldiers have encompassed the city, and are about to plunder it, take thy refuge in the Lord, and say: 'The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.'"

Job I. 21.

Flavian's hope of anticipating the messengers, who had been sent from Antioch to Constantinople, and were detained upon the road, was frustrated. Before his arrival at Constantinople, the incensed emperor had dispatched to Antioch two officers of state, Cæsarius and Hellebichuis, with orders to institute the strictest inquiry for the discovery of the guilty, and to pass sentence accordingly. The severity, with which they at first acted, excited general consternation. In conformity with the inhuman and irrational rule of justice, which prevailed in those days, and which the spirit of Christianity gradually reformed, the rack was employed to discover the guilty by extorted confessions; and even the first citizens of the state were not spared. Men of the most distinguished senato-

rial families were dragged in chains to judgment through the city. The square in front of the tribunal presented a melancholy appearance. Here were seen kindred and friends, who in deep grief awaited the doom of those belonging to them. But while every mind was seized with fear, and no one dared to speak openly, the monks dwelling upon the hills near Antioch, who rarely visited the city, hastened thither to rescue their brethren. Accustomed in their communion with God to despise the things of earth, they were enabled in the various conditions of life to preach the divine law both to the high and low. One of these monks, Macedonius, an unlearned man, who could not even read, but was enlightened by the Holy Spirit, unto which he endeavoured to raise his soul by humble prayer, urged by feelings of Christian love, entered the city, sought the judges; and seizing the cloak of one of them, summoned them both to dismount. At the sight of this aged man, of mean appearance and poor attire, they were at first reluctant to obey; but when they were informed, who he was, they alighted and embraced his knees. He then addressed them in the following words: "Tell the emperor, my beloved, that he is not only an emperor, but also a man; that being a man, he ruleth over those who partake of the same nature with himself; and that man is created after the image of God. Let him not then command, that the image of God be so unmercifully and cruelly destroyed. Let him reflect, that in the place of one brazen image, we can easily fabricate many; but that it is utterly beyond his power to restore a single hair of the murdered victims." The judges were probably aware, how easily the emperor, although often

Theodor.
Lib. V. c. 19.

misled by a consciousness of his unlimited power, and the heat of passion, could be restrained by the voice of religion.

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XVII.

Chrysostom thus represented to his flock the progress of the affair: "We awaited innumerable evils,—to be spoiled of all our substance,—houses to be burned with their inhabitants,—the city to be blotted out from the face of the earth,—its ruins to be destroyed,—its very foundations to be ploughed up. But lo! all these things have stayed within our expectation, and have not been put into execution. Nor is this all: God hath not only delivered us from this great peril; he hath also bestowed great benefits upon us; hath conferred honour on our city; and rendered us more worthy by this trial and calamity. And I will tell you in what manner he hath done all these things. When those, who had been sent by the emperor to inquire into the transgressions which had been committed, formed that dreadful tribunal, and demanded of every one an account of his misdeeds; when death in various shapes was awaited by all, then the monks, who dwelt upon the tops of the mountains, manifested their superior wisdom. Shut up during so many years in their cells,—no one calling upon them,—no one persuading them, when they beheld the dark cloud spreading around the city, leaving their cells and caverns, they flowed in from all sides, as angels from above, and the city was made like unto heaven,—those holy men being every where seen, by their aspect alone, giving consolation to those who mourned, and leading them to a contempt of every calamity. For who that had beheld them would not have derided death? would not have despised life? But this was not the only won-

der: accosting the rulers themselves, they spoke to them with boldness in behalf of the accused; they were ready to pour out their blood, and to lay down their heads, so that they might rescue the prisoners from their expected fate. And they declared, that they would not retire, until the judges had spared the inhabitants of the city, or sent them together with the accused to the emperor. 'The ruler of our world,' said one of them, 'loveth God; he is one of the faithful, and liveth a godly life. We will then entirely reconcile him to us. We will not depute, we will not allow you to stain the sword with blood, or cut off the head of any one. If ye desist not, let us all die together with the offenders. We confess, that great outrages have been committed; but the iniquity of the transgressions hath not exceeded the humanity of the emperor.'" Another of them¹ is reported to have spoken to them the following words full of wisdom: 'Statues, when thrown down, have been again erected, have been restored to their former beauty, and the mischief hath been quickly amended; but if ye destroy the image of God, how will ye be able to restore it when destroyed. How recal the dead to life and render souls to bodies?'" And they addressed to him many words concerning the judgment they were about to give.

Who is not struck with wonder? who admireth not the wisdom of these holy men? When a mother of one of the accused, with uncovered head and white dishevelled hairs, wildly traversing the forum, seized by the reins the horse of the judge, and together with him en-

¹ Macedonius.

tered the hall of judgment, we were all struck with wonder and admiration at her piety and magnanimity. How much rather must we not be struck at the conduct of these holy men? Had she died for her child, it would not have been surprising; for great is the force of nature, invincible the bowels of maternal compassion,—the yearnings of a mother's heart. But these men so loved those, whom they had not begotten nor educated, nay, whom they knew not, whose names they had never heard, with whom they had never holden converse, with whom calamity alone had made them acquainted, that had they had a thousand lives, they would have given them up to save them. Tell me not, that these men were not slain, nor their blood shed, when they made use of as much boldness towards the judges, as those only have recourse to, who despair of their lives; and with such minds did they hasten from the mountains to the tribunal. And had they not been prepared to encounter every kind of death, they could not have addressed the judges with such freedom; for they sat whole days before the doors of the judgment hall, ready to rescue those, who were to be led away by the executioners. Where are now the men with cloaks cast around them, who display long beards and bear clubs in their right hands,—the philosophers of the Gentiles,—the offscourings of Cynicism,—men more degraded than the dogs under the tables,—and doing every thing for the sake of their bellies? They all then left the city—they vanished—they concealed themselves in caves; while those only, who placed their philosophy in their actions, appeared fearlessly in the forum, as if no misfortune had befallen the city. The inhabitants of the city fled to the mountains

and deserts ; while the denizens of the wilderness marched into the city, proving by their works, that which I always said on former occasions, that not even the furnace hath power to hurt the man, who liveth a godly life. So superior to all circumstances, whether good or evil, is the wisdom of the soul ; for it is neither puffed up by prosperity, nor dismayed or cast down by adversity ; but in all situations remaineth the same, manifesting throughout, its native strength and vigour. For, whom hath not the difficulty of the present season proved ? The most illustrious of our senate, the chief magistrates of our city, the possessors of immeasurable wealth, men who had enjoyed great influence with the emperor, deserted their houses and consulted their own safety. The ties of friendship and relationship were no longer regarded ; of their former acquaintance some they would not in this season of calamity acknowledge ; by others they feared to be acknowledged. But the indigent monks, whose only possessions were their coarse garments, who lived in rustic simplicity, who before this event appeared to enjoy no consideration, and whose intercourse had been confined to mountains and forests, stood as lions in the midst of the danger, when all others feared and trembled ; and effected by their great and lofty spirit, not after many days, but in a moment, the dispersion of the storm. Like brave warriors they mingled not in combat ; but having appeared in order of battle and shouted, they put to flight their adversaries. Thus in one day these men descended, reasoned, averted the impending calamity, and returned to their cells. So mighty is the wisdom which Christ hath given unto men. And wherefore should I speak of the rich and

powerful among ourselves, when those, who have been sent hither with authority to judge us, and who hold the highest offices of state, being called upon by these monks to act with forbearance, affirmed that the issue did not depend upon themselves; for that it was not only dangerous to insult the emperor; but equally so to dismiss with impunity the offenders, who had been apprehended. But these holy men overcame every obstacle; and by the greatness of their minds, their perseverance and continued entreaties induced the judges to exercise a power, with which they had not been entrusted by the emperor. Although the guilty had been discovered, they succeeded in persuading the judges not to decree their condemnation, but to defer the final sentence to the decision of the emperor; and they offered to obtain from him full pardon for the criminals, and made ready for their departure. But the judges, venerating their wisdom and struck by their high feeling, would not permit them to undertake the distant journey; but promised upon receiving their petition in writing, that they would themselves depart, and supplicate the emperor to lay aside his wrath, which we trust that he will do. For while the cause was pending they entered the court, spoke words full of wisdom, and in the writing, in which they laid their request before the emperor, they reminded him of the universal judgment, declaring themselves ready to lay down their lives for the guilty; and with this document the judges hastened to Constantinople."

Although, through the intercession of the monks, the final sentence was deferred, the judges ventured not to delay the infliction of some punishments upon the rebellious city,

with the execution of which the emperor had charged them, before their departure from Constantinople. They had, according to the imperial commands, imprisoned the senators remaining in the city, who instead of participating in the general joy, anxiously awaited their fate. Antioch was deprived of the rank it held as metropolis of Syria, with which at that time great honour and advantage were united; and this dignity was transferred to its neighbour and rival, Laodicea. The theatre, circus, and baths, were likewise closed. When therefore the Antiochians, wholly bent upon pleasure, lamented these privations, instead of thanking God for averting from them far greater calamities, Chrysostom thus admonished them: "Tell me what grievance hath been inflicted by these measures of the emperor? Is it a grievance, that he hath closed the orchestra? that he no longer permitteth the circus to be frequented? Would that these sources of vice were never again to be opened! Hence the roots of iniquity extend themselves throughout our city. Hence proceed those, who bring our reputation into evil report, the authors of every disturbance, who sell their voices to the dancers, and for three *oboli* barter the salvation of their souls. On account of these things do ye grieve, my beloved? On account of these things ye should rejoice and be glad, and render thanks with one accord to the emperor, that his revenge hath been a chastisement, his chastisement instruction. Or do ye grieve, because the baths are closed? Is it then an evil, that those who lead enervating and dissolute lives, should, even against their will, be brought back to wisdom. Or, because the dignity of our city hath been taken away, and the empe-

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XVII.

ror no longer permitteth it to be called a metropolis? But what ought he to have done? Commend your transgressions and return thanks? And who would not have censured him, had he shewn no appearance of indignation? Know ye not that parents act often thus towards their children; that they turn from them, and forbid them their tables. Even so hath the emperor acted towards you by imposing these penalties, which inflict not injury, but bring correction. *Remember the punishments which ye expected, and compare them with those which have been decreed:* so shall ye duly appreciate the mercy of God. Do ye grieve, because the dignity of our city hath been taken away? Learn then what constituteth the dignity of a city, and know, that if the city be betrayed not by its inhabitants, no one hath power to deprive it of its dignity. It is not its rank of metropolis, nor the size and beauty of its edifices, nor the number of its columns, nor its spacious colonades and public walks, nor its precedence of other cities; but it is the piety of the inhabitants. This is the dignity, ornament, and security of a city; and if it have not piety, it is of all cities the most degraded, though honours innumerable be conferred upon it by the emperors. Would ye know the true dignity of your city, and be made acquainted with its ancestral glories? I will inform you of them; not only that you may know, but likewise emulate them. It was at Antioch that the disciples were first called Christians. This is an honour no other city in the world enjoyeth, not even the city of Romulus. Wherefore Antioch may confront the whole earth, because of this love for Christ,—because of this fearless confession of its faith. Would ye learn another distinction of our city?

When a great dearth was prophesied, the Christians dwelling at Antioch determined every man according to his ability to send relief unto the brethren at Jerusalem. Behold then a second distinction,—charity towards the distressed. The season restrained them not; the prospect of calamity rendered them not remiss; but at a time when men gather together the stores of others, they freely gave their own; and not to those near, but to those dwelling far off. These are manifestations of faith in God, and love towards our neighbour. Would ye know another distinction of our city? Certain men came down to Antioch from Judæa, subverting the faith, and introducing Jewish observances. The disciples at Antioch endured not in silence this innovation; but, gathering the church together, they sent Paul and Barnabas up to Jerusalem, and caused the Apostles to send forth throughout the world doctrines free from Jewish error. These are the distinctions, which constitute the dignity and excellence of our city. They render it a metropolis, not on earth, but in heaven.” He exhorted them to have a Christian sympathy for the fate of the prisoners and exiles, in the following words: “Let us continually render thanks to God for his mercies present and past, and with one accord fervently implore him, that the prisoners may be released, and the exiles permitted to return. They are our members; have, with us, been tossed by the waves; have, with us, endured the storm. Let us, therefore supplicate the merciful God, that with us they may attain repose. Let no one ask, how doth it concern me? Though this man be ruined or that man perish, I am rescued from danger. Kindle not the wrath of God against you by

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XVII.

Hebr. VIII.
3, and Rom.
XII. 15.

such an arrogant contempt of others; but grieve as sincerely and invoke God as fervently, as if yourselves were in adversity, fulfilling the command of Paul: 'Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which suffer adversity, as being yourselves also in the body.' 'Weep with them that weep.' So shall we bring a blessing upon ourselves; for nothing is so pleasing in the sight of God, as a sincere participation in the misfortunes of our brethren."

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XVIII.

Some of the Antiochians forgetting the warnings of misfortune, had lightly and even petulantly expressed their displeasure at being deprived of their accustomed baths. Chrysostom therefore addressed them in an impressive discourse to the following effect: "God might at once have released us from our afflictions, and suffered no trace of them to remain; but lest we should return to our former indifference, he hath permitted this torrent of misfortunes to flow off gradually; and he thereby maintaineth us in a continued state of piety. That many would have returned to their former levity had the danger at once passed over, is a truth made manifest by the scenes we now witness. The effects of the calamity are still remaining; the intentions of the emperor are not declared; the rulers of our city are in bonds; yet many of our citizens eagerly hasten to the river to bathe, and there abandon themselves to buffoonery,—to wanton and licentious riot. What pardon do these men deserve, or rather what punishment do they not deserve? The chief magistrate of our city lieth in prison; our fellow citizens are in exile; their sentence is unpronounced, and ye dance, and sport, and laugh? Ye say, that ye cannot endure to be

deprived of the bath. Are ye thus degraded, and lost to shame. Not twenty days have elapsed since the baths were closed, and ye complain as if ye had been called upon to abstain from them for a whole year. Say, did ye think this, when ye dreaded an attack from the soldiers? when ye saw yourselves threatened each day with death,—when ye fled to the deserts, and escaped to the tops of the mountains? Had any one then proposed to you, to remain an entire year without baths, and to be freed from the terror which overwhelmed you, would ye not joyfully have accepted the offer? But now, instead of thanking God who hath permitted all these threatenings to pass over without injuring you, ye riot once more in pride and wantonness. And now that your fears have subsided, ye relapse into a forgetfulness of God, still greater than that in which ye lived before. Have the past events made so little impression upon you, that ye long forsooth for your baths? And if the baths were opened, should not the misery of the imprisoned be sufficient to induce such of their brethren as have escaped the peril, to renounce amusements for a while? Human life is in danger, and ye think of your baths, and pursue your pleasures. Do ye disregard the sufferings of others, because yourselves are in safety? Take heed that ye draw not down upon you severer punishment; that ye bring not back the past threatenings with heavier judgment; and that which Christ said concerning a man possessed of a devil, happen not unto you: ‘When the unclean spirit,’ saith Christ, ‘is gone forth, upon returning findeth his house empty and swept, taking again seven other spirits more wicked than himself, he re-entereth

Luke XI.
24—26.

the soul, and the last state of that man is worse than the first.’”

Phil. IV. 4.
Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XVIII.

He took advantage of these events to impress upon his congregation the uncertainty of earthly happiness, and to lead them to the higher source of imperishable joy and immutable consolation. In a homily, of which the text was, “ Rejoice in the Lord alway,” he says: “ It is not so much the nature of the evils by which a man is affected, as it is the state of his mind, which maketh them to appear to him either trifling or intolerable. Without going far for a proof of this assertion, I will remind you of the events which have befallen ourselves. Behold the poor have escaped; the people are delivered from danger, and enjoy perfect security: but those who have administered the public affairs of our city, who kept horses for the public games, who distributed the prizes to the victors,¹ and other high officers, are dwelling in prison and awaiting extreme punishment; they are made responsible for the offences of all; are living in continual fear; and contending with more than ordinary sufferings, not so much on account of the imminence of the danger, as on account of the luxury of their past lives. Many, whom we have encouraged, and advised to bear up nobly against adversity, have answered us: ‘ We are not prepared to encounter such heavy misfortunes; we know not how to endure it; and stand in need of much consolation.’ Some believe health to be the source of pleasure; but many in health have a thousand times desired death, because they were unable to support their wrongs. Others affirm that glory and power,—the adulation of the multitude, and

¹ “ ἰπποδροφοί, καὶ ἀγωναθῆται, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα λειτουργήσαντες.”

the administration of high offices, are causes of perpetual joy ; but without mentioning the several high offices of state : if we ascend to contemplate the imperial dignity, we shall find those invested with it encompassed by cares and sorrows innumerable, and heavy as the weight of the affairs which they administer. I need not speak of wars and battles and the irruptions of the barbarians : often times they have to dread the dwellers within their palace. For many an emperor, who hath been delivered from the hands of the enemy, hath not escaped the intrigues of his own guards. Countless as the waves of the sea are the cares of sovereigns. What power then is able to divest life of sorrow, if the possession of empire cannot ? No power of this world is sufficient ; but this brief saying of Paul discovereth to us the treasure. We require not much discourse, nor need we travel a long and devious road, if we only attend to that saying, we shall find the way which leadeth thither ; for he saith not simply, ‘ Rejoice always,’ but addeth the cause of continual joy : ‘ Rejoice in the Lord always.’ No event of this life can deprive of his joy the man who rejoiceth in the Lord.”

Flavian arrived at Constantinople a short time before Easter, and the success of his mission was greatly advanced by the period of his arrival. The Christians, according to ancient usage, celebrated their festivals by acts of mercy,¹ especially that of Easter, on account of the great event then solemnized. It was even acknowledged by the civil code, that

¹ “ ‘The oil of mercy,’ says Ambrosius, Sermon XIV. on Psalm CXVIII. 7, “ glisteneth on the Festivals of the Church.”

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XXI.

during that season mercy ought to prevail.¹ About this time the Emperor issued to the provinces an edict, in which he commanded, that all prisoners should be released in honor of the festival of Easter,² and added: "Would that I were able to recall the executed! Would that I could raise them and restore them to life!" Bishop Flavian reminded the Emperor of these words, and they made a strong impression upon his mind, as Chrysostom had predicted, when he read that edict to his congregation for the purpose of consoling them: "Deeply affected, Theodosius uttered words, says Chrysostom, which became him more than his imperial crown: 'Is it then,' said the Emperor, 'wonderful, that we, being men, should remit our

Hom. ad
Pop. Anti-
och. XXI.

¹ "Leo the Great," says Sermon XXXIX.: "According to old and sacred custom, the Roman emperors at this season, in honour of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, descend from their height of power, relax the severity of their laws, and pardon many their crimes; that in these days, in which the world was saved by the Divine mercy, their mercy might strive to imitate the goodness of God." (*Ut in diebus, quibus mundus salvatus miseratione divinâ, etiam ipsorum supernæ bonitatis imitatrix sit æmulando elementia.*) In the *Titulus of the Codex Theodosianus de indulgentiis criminum*, many laws relative to this point are to be found, commencing from A. D. 381: "*Paschalis lætitiæ dies ne illa quidem tenere sinit ingenia, quæ flagitia fecerunt, pateat insuetis horridus carcer aliquando luminibus.*" And in a law A. D. 384, it is enacted, that all those, who were accused of petty crimes should be freed from imprisonment and punishment.

² Otherwise in the laws of the years 384 and 385, it is expressly declared, that pardon on the Festival of Easter should only be granted to those, who were accused of petty offences. Those were to be excepted, who were accused of high treason (*crimen majestatis*), of murder, of poisoning, of carrying on magic, of coining base money, of robbery, of adultery, and violating the tombs (*τυμβωρυχοί*)—a crime very frequent in those days; since many made a trade of purloining therefrom precious stones, and other things of value.

anger against men, who have insulted us; when the Lord of the world, who descended upon earth, and took upon him for our sake the form of a servant, while crucified by those, whose benefactor he had been, prayed to his Father for his murderers, saying: 'Forgive them; for they know not what they do?' Wherefore then are ye surprised, that we forgive our fellow-servants?" Theodosius wrote a letter to the Antiochians, in which he promised to forget their past offences, and Flavian was commissioned to carry this letter with diligence to his flock, that it might arrive during Easter, and contribute to the joy and gratitude, with which that festival was celebrated.¹ Chrysostom announced these events to his congregation in a discourse on Easter-day, A.D. 387, which he

¹ Libanius and Sozomen mention nothing of the services rendered by the monks and by the bishop in this affair; but this circumstance is in nowise surprising, because these two authors delighted to say much evil of the Christians, and probably could not bring themselves to acknowledge any thing, which was good in them. When Sozomen IV. c. 41. relates, that Libanius was chosen by the senate as ambassador to the emperor, and that the emperor was appeased by the eloquence of Libanius, he contradicts in part the oration, which Libanius is said to have held in presence of the emperor; for Libanius says therein, that he had offered *himself* as defender of the city. (ἐγὼ δ' ἑμαυτὸν χειροτονήσας ἤκω.) Tom. I. f. 626. And that also, which Libanius says in this discourse of his personal appearance before the emperor, is certainly only rhetorical declamation,—turns, similar to this one, being frequently to be met with in his works. This vain man, so prone to overvalue his own merits, would not have omitted to boast in his *λογος περὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ τυχῆς*, what he had at that time effected by his personal influence with the emperor, if he had had an opportunity of doing so. As it was, he only brings forward the influence, which his tears and words had upon Cæsarius and Hellebechius, and through them upon the emperor; and he himself observes immediately afterwards, that he had held the discourses, to which the revolt had given rise, before an assembly of hearers at

thus began :—“ In the words with which I was wont to commence my appeal to your love in the period of danger, in the same words I will commence my discourse to-day, and say with you, blessed be God! who to-day permitteth us to celebrate this sacred feast with exceeding joy and gladness; who hath restored the head to the body, the shepherd to his flock, the master to his disciples, the leader to his soldiers, the high-priest to his clergy. ‘Blessed be God!’ who doeth exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think.” He concluded with the following exhortation, in allusion to their conduct upon the arrival of a messenger dispatched by Flavian with the welcome intelligence to Antioch: “As ye then did, when ye crowned the market with wreathes of flowers, kindled the lights, extended the carpets before the workshops, and celebrated, as it were, the birthday of a city;—do always, but in a different manner: crown not the forum with flowers,

Ephes. III.
20.

Hom. ad
Pop. An-
tioch. XXI.

Antioch. The manner in which Chrysostom relates the progress of the affair is best suited to the character of the emperor, upon whom religion made an easy impression, as appears, for example, from the remarkable scenes which occurred between him and Bishop Ambrosius of Mayland, who wrote to the emperor on this occasion: “I deny not, that thou hast a fear of God; at the same time thou hast a natural vehemence, which, if it be appeased by any one, may easily be turned to pity; but which, if it be encouraged, always increaseth to a height, that thou canst scarce restrain it: “*Quod dei timorem (habeas) non diffiteor, sed habes naturæ impetum, quem si quis lenire velit, cito vertes ad misericordiam; si quis stimulet, in majus exsuscitatur, ut eum revocare vix possis.*” Libanius himself brings this forward, in order to prevent the emperor exacting a fine from the city of Antioch, saying, that if he did so, he must either appear unjust, or inflict punishment upon those, whom he particularly honoured as the friends of God (*οὓς ὡς φίλους τῷ θεῷ τιμᾶν ἀξιῖται*.) Whether he thereby meant the Christians generally, or only the clergy, does not appear.

but crown yourselves with virtue; kindle the light of good works in your souls, and rejoice with spiritual gladness. Let us not cease to thank God for the mercy, which he hath shewn unto us, and let us confess our great obligations to him, not only for having dispelled these dreadful calamities; but likewise for having permitted them to impend over us; for by both of these dispensations he hath conferred honor upon our city. Declare these events to your children with prophetic voice; let your children relate them to their children; they again to another generation;—that all futurity may know the mercy shewn by God towards this city; may deem us blessed to have enjoyed beneficence so great; may venerate our Lord, who hath raised a city thus fallen; and may thereby be benefitted and excited to piety. For the history of these events will not only greatly benefit ourselves, if we be constantly mindful of them, but likewise upon those, who live after us.”

These important events induced many of the heathens at Antioch to become converts to Christianity. Whether the alarming danger had awakened them to serious thoughts upon religion, or whether they hoped to find greater favour in the Emperor's sight in declaring themselves Christians,—motives similar to these being not unfrequent in those days,¹ it is diffi-

¹ Vide. Augustin. Tractat. 25. in Joannis Evangel. § 10. where among purely worldly motives he also mentions this one: “Alius premitur a potentiore, fugit ad ecclesiam; alius pro se vult interveniri apud eum, apud quem parum valet.” Augustin repeats the same thing in his excellent work de Catechizandis Rudibus, f. 26. There are some, says he, who desire to become Christians, either to gain the favour of those, from whom they expect worldly advantages: or because they are unwilling to disoblige those, whom they

cult now to determine; but in either case conversions arising from impressions so momentary, required to be strengthened and confirmed. One or more of Chrysostom's sermons were addressed to these new converts, and set forth to them in a lively manner the relation between Christianity and heathenism, as well as the privileges, which they gained by their conversion.¹

fear. Augustine very properly calls this (f. 9) not becoming a Christian, but rather a hypocrite (*non fieri velle potius quam fingere*). Therefore he writes to the teachers of religion to inquire into the motives of those, who would seek from him instruction in Christianity, in order to take such motives into consideration. It might indeed happen, that the man, who in the first instance had from worldly motives come to the resolution of being baptized, might by providence be led further than he himself had intended, when he became moved by the animated discourse of a true Christian teacher, to believe sincerely or to search the Scriptures more earnestly; or when after a more intimate acquaintance with Christianity, he found therein possessions more precious, than he at first had supposed; for Augustine says: The divine mercy often through the ministry of the catechists causeth such a one to be so moved by their discourse, that he resolveth to become in reality that, which at first he had only feigned to be. (“*Sæpe adest misericordia Dei per ministerium catechizantes, ut, sermone commotus, jam fieri velit, quod decreverat fingere.*”)

¹ None of these Sermons have come down to us, and I have in a former edition of this work erred with Montfaucon concerning their supposed contents, a particular description of which I supposed to have found in *Hom. I. in Annam* § 2. *Ed. Montf. IV. f. 701.* But it is clear, that what Chrysostom says in that discourse concerning his former *ζητησις προς Ἑλληνας*, the contents of which he is desirous of recalling to the recollection of his hearers, relates not to what he had said to the new converts in those sermons; for that which he goes on afterwards to say in no wise harmonizes with the representation made by him in the preceding paragraph of the importance of their contents; and he had set out by saying, that he wished to remind them of those subjects, which he had delivered in his discourses during the Fast. This occasioned him to speak of the various subjects he had in

A course of sermons written by Chrysostom about this time, enables us to show further his influence as preacher during these years, which were so eventful for the city of Antioch, and to offer in miniature a sketch of his manner of instruction.

The festival of Easter was succeeded by festivals of martyrs; but sickness prevented Chrysostom from assisting at their celebration. The bishop himself conducted numerous processions to the tombs of martyrs, where rites were solemnized to their memory; and had the health of Chrysostom permitted such an exertion, he would probably have been appointed to pronounce their eulogies. The Sunday before¹ Ascension-day arrived, and the celebration of that day was solemnized by a visit of the Presbyters of the distant country parishes to the metropolis, an event of rare occurrence. Chrysostom, in the sermon about to be cited, represents them as simple persons, chosen from among the peasantry, deficient in the higher mental attainments, and unacquainted with Grecian literature and accomplishments; of old Syrian descent, their mother tongue was not

the mean time treated of in his sermons, all of which he goes through in their order; and among the others mentions those, which were addressed to the new converts. That which is said in the second paragraph can therefore only relate to the *ζητησις προς Έλληνας* in his discourses during the Fast, of whose contents he wishes to remind his hearers, and all that he subsequently says is only a recapitulation of that, which he had set forth in his Hom. ad Pop. Antioch. IX. X. XI. and XII.

¹ *Κυριακή της επισώζομενης*. The Festival of the Ascension was called *Ἡ επισώζομενη*, and was celebrated in remembrance of the event, which set, as it were, a seal upon the salvation of mankind. It is difficult to say, whether we should understand thereby *έορτη επί σωζομενης της ανθρωπινης φυσεως*, or the addition of *έπι* as a mark of intensesness.

Grecian but Syriac. They influenced the country people more by their pious deportment, and by the daily consolation, which they gave to their parishioners, than by their instruction, although they were fully capable of propounding, in plain language, the essential doctrines of their faith. Besides their professional duties, they occupied themselves with agriculture, which contributed to their support. The union of these representatives of the rural congregations in common devotion with the cultivated inhabitants of the metropolis,—that men, whom language and education had divided, were to be joined together by the higher communion of religion,—was an event which Christianity alone rendered possible, and deeply impressed the mind of Chrysostom. He therefore felt himself called upon, although not yet recovered from his illness, to celebrate this festival with his flock, and to call their attention to the importance of such a union.¹

Having mentioned in honorable terms the manner in which these pastors lived, he said: “Were thou to question any one of these men dwelling in the country, and busied with his spade or his plough, concerning those doctrines, of which the heathen philosophers, however infinite their research, or numerous their discourses, could say nothing sound, out of the fulness of wisdom he would render thee a satisfactory account; and not only is this surprising; but it is still more wonderful to behold them establish their faith by their works, as well as by their doctrines. For they are convinced that we have an immortal soul, that we are about to render an account of all things done

¹ Vide. Hom. ad Pop. Antioch. XIX. which according to the superscription was held on Ascension Day.

here, and to stand before the dreadful tribunal; and they have regulated their lives in conformity to these hopes. They have become superior to all worldly pomps, and instructed by the sacred writings, that ‘vanity of vanities, all is vanity,’ they desire none of those things, which appear brilliant. They know how to reason concerning God after the manner, which God hath commanded. Were thou to confront one of them with a heathen philosopher, or rather, as no such a person is at present to be found,—were thou to take one of these men, and having opened the volumes of the ancient philosophers to peruse them, and after having examined them, to compare his answers with their reasonings, thou wilt perceive how great is the wisdom of the former, the madness of the latter. For while some of them assert, that the universe participateth not in providence,—that the world is not created by God, that virtue of itself is not sufficient; but that riches, high birth, external splendour, and other things far more vain, are necessary for our happiness; these men, altogether ignorant of heathen learning, reason concerning providence, the works of God, who out of nothing created all things, and concerning all other matters. Who perceiveth not here the power of Christ, which hath produced unlearned and simple men, as much wiser than those, who boast of their great wisdom, as men of sense excel little children?” In order to give, as proof of his affection, a wholesome admonition to these beloved brethren, he repeated the exhortation, which he had often delivered during the Fast, viz. that a strict observance of truth should ensure a forbearance from all oaths.

Eccles. I. 2.

In the succeeding discourse Chrysostom re-

minded his hearers of the severity, with which they had been admonished to repent during the late Fast, and having called upon them to retain the salutary impressions they had received during that momentous period, he pointed out to them, as he had done in former sermons, the various ways, in which God reveals himself unto us, and draws us unto him through the wonders of the creation, the suggestions of our consciences, and the relation, in which we stand towards our parents. This occasioned him to speak of maternal influence in education; and delighting, as he did, to illustrate general doctrines by striking instances drawn from biblical history, he selected the example of Hannah, the mother of Samuel, as the best pattern of a Christian wife and mother; and this subject engaged him in a series of six sermons.

Sermo. de
Anna. I.

In the first of these sermons, among other things concerning Hannah, he says: "When she prayed, she remembered not her rival; she spoke not of the provocations she had received; she brought not forward the reproaches, with which she had been assailed; she prayed not, as many would have prayed: 'Avenge me on this wicked woman;' but, remembering not the revilings of Peninnah, she prayed only for the things, which were profitable to herself. Do thou likewise. If an enemy persecute thee, utter no angry word; pray not against him, though he hate thee; but enter thy chamber, and upon thy bended knees implore God with tears to deliver thee out of thy affliction,—to still thy grief. Thus did Hannah, and thus she obtained the greatest advantage over her wicked adversary; for her rival contributed to the birth of her child. She reviled her; she grieved her sore; she augmented her pain; her

pain rendered her prayer more fervent; her prayer obtained for her the favor of God, and caused him to grant her request. Thus was Samuel born. If we be watchful, not only will our enemies be unable to injure us, but they will be of the greatest use to us by rendering us more capable of every right exertion, provided that the grief, which they bring upon us, lead us not to revilings, but to prayer." Having adverted in the second sermon to the short, but reiterated prayer of Hannah, he endeavored to shew by her example, that the importance of a prayer depends not upon the number of its words, but upon the stedfastness of the soul which pours it forth; and this accords with the injunction of our Saviour: 'not to use vain repetitions as the heathen do.' He then answered the objection of short prayers being forbidden by the parable of the importunate widow, and by the exhortation of St. Paul: 'to pray without ceasing,' in neither of which he found any contradiction of his former assertion: "Both Christ and Paul commanded, that short and frequent prayers should be offered up with brief intermissions; for if thou extend thy prayers to a great length, thou wilt oftentimes grow inattentive, render bold the tempter to come and overreach thee, and divert thy mind from the words thou utterest. But if thou perseveringly offer up frequent prayers, dividing the time into many portions, thou wilt easily preserve a sober state of mind, and pray with watchfulness. Thus did Hannah. She extended not her prayers to a great length; but she approached God constantly with frequent prayers. When afterwards the priest stopped her mouth,—for this is the meaning of the words: 'Eli marked her mouth, and her

Matt. VI. 7.

Luk. XVIII.
1—8.1 Thess. V.
17.Sermo. de
Anna. II.

I Sam. I.
12, 13.

Exod. XIV.
15.

I Sam. I. 9.

lips moved, but her voice was not heard :— she was compelled to obey the priest, and desist from praying. Her voice was stayed, but her trust in God ceased not, and her heart cried the more mightily within her. It is the inward cry of the heart to heaven, which constituteth true prayer. It is the praying with fervor of heart, not with the cry of the voice, which is peculiar to suffering souls. Thus likewise Moses prayed, unto whom, though he had uttered nought, God said : ‘ Wherefore criest thou unto me ? ’ Men indeed hear only the external voice, but God rather heareth those, who cry inwardly. Therefore they, who cry not aloud, may be heard ; they, who are going to the market-place, may pray in their hearts with all due observance ; and they, who are sitting among their friends, or in any other way employed, may invoke God with a strong cry,—I mean the inward cry of the heart,—and yet not be heard by any of those who are present.” Alluding to the circumstance of Hannah praying after she had eaten, he observed : “ We learn from her to pray after having eaten. The man, who is prepared to pray, will never fall into drunkenness, or be overpowered by gluttony. Preparation for prayer will be as a bridle to his thoughts. He will partake of whatsoever is set before him with becoming moderation, and both his soul and body will be filled with the divine blessing. For the repast, which is begun and ended by prayer, will never fail ; but will provide for us every good thing more abundantly, than the living spring poureth forth its waters. Let us not then neglect so great a gain. It would be absurd, were our servants, whenever they received from us any portion of the food placed upon our table, to return us thanks, and call

down blessings upon us at their departure ; while we were not to render unto God so much honor, as our servants render unto us, although we enjoy so many good gifts at his hand, and are about to obtain from him an everlasting rest. For where prayer and thanksgiving are, there also the Grace of the Holy Spirit abideth ; evil spirits are banished ; and every hostile power flieth and keepeth afar off.”

While Chrysostom, from a lively experience of the great importance of prayer, and from a strong desire, that it might become the soul of domestic life among Christians, urged it so impressively on his flock ; he suffered himself to be carried away by the warmth of his feelings, and to say much, which, though expressive of vital truth, might, when spoken thus unreservedly, have been misunderstood, and therefore misapplied : “ Should any one arise drunken with wine, let him not even then lay aside this custom. And though he were stupified, or reeling, or had actually fallen, nevertheless let him pray, and give not up this custom. For were thou to pray in such a state on one day, thou wouldst make atonement on the morrow for thy disgraceful conduct of yesterday.” He considered not, when he uttered these words, that prayer might thus be rendered a mere form of words, which was to him of all things the most hateful.

Sermo. de
Anna. II.

In the third sermon he represented in the following words, as an example for Christian mothers, the manner in which Hannah consecrated her son to God from the time of his birth : “ If thou become a mother, do thou likewise consecrate thy son to God. Hannah carried her son into the temple ; do thou make thine to be himself a temple of the

Sermo. de
Anna. III.

Lord.¹ For the Apostle saith : ‘ your members are the body of Christ ;’ and : ‘ the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you.’ And again, God hath said : ‘ I will dwell in you and walk in you.’ For is it not absurd to expend treasure, to call together builders, to spare no trouble to prop an old house, which is about to fall, and not to deem the house of God,—for the soul of a young man should be the house of God,—worthy of common care? Take heed, lest ye hear those words, which were formerly heard by the Jews. When, after their return from captivity, they had beholden their visible temple neglected, and had adorned their own houses, they so incensed God, that he sent a prophet to threaten them with a famine, and a great dearth of all the necessaries of life ; and he assigned, as a cause of this threat, that they : ‘ dwelt in their ceiled houses, but his house lay waste.’ But if the neglect of that temple excited so highly the wrath of God, how much more will the neglect of this temple provoke the Lord? For this temple is more honorable, than the other in as much, as it hath more precious symbols of consecration. Let not then the house of God become a den of thieves, lest ye hear another rebuke, which Christ gave to the Jews, saying : ‘ My father’s house is the

I Cor. VI.
15.

19.

II Cor. VI.
16.

Hagg. I. 4.

¹ Neander has made a necessary correction of the Greek in his translation of this passage. According to the common reading, it is : *ἀν δε γενη μητηρ, αναθες σου και συ τον υιον.* Ἐκεινη εἰς ναον ἀνηγαγε, συ ναον κατασκευασον σουτην βασιλικον, but this mode of reading it does not at all agree with the context, which requires an antithesis: not only to lead thy son into the temple, but to make himself to be a temple. According also to the common reading, the objective case would be wanting to the first verb, *ἀνηγαγε*; but if, instead of *σουτην*, we read *αὐτον*, this latter pronoun would be the common object to both verbs.

house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.' How then is it made a den of thieves? By your suffering debasing and low desires, and every lascivious passion, to enter and abide in the souls of the young. These are more dangerous than thieves; they enthrall the freedom of the youths; they make them the slaves of brutal lusts, piercing them through on every side, and filling their souls with innumerable wounds. Wherefore let us daily consider these things, and making use of exhortation, as it were of a scourge, let us chase all such evil passions from their souls, so that our children may be able to partake with us of the kingdom above, and accomplish all things belonging to its service."

Matt. XXI.
13.

Chrysostom, in whose words may be traced the manners of those times, alluding in this discourse to their social character, illustrated as was his custom, the concerns of earth by the concerns of heaven, and contrasted the one with the other. The children of noble families¹ were, soon after their birth, appointed to honorary offices in the senate, the duties of which entailed as much expense as distinction, and, in virtue of such nominal appointments, titles were conferred upon them. These offices² were the remains of heathen usages handed down to a Christian age; and the persons, who filled them, defrayed certain charges incurred in the public games, in the representation of the festive choruses, and in other solemnities. In allusion to this ostentatious custom, Chrysostom said: "Behold ye not often the rulers in cities appoint their infants, as soon as taken from the breast, to be Presidents of the Games, Gymna-

¹ The families of the Curiales, *πολιτευομενοι*.

² A species of *λειτουργιαι*, *munera honoraria*.

siarchs, and Choriarchs? Even so let us do. Let us introduce our children from their earliest age to the service of the kingdom, which is in heaven. For this earthly service¹ bringeth expense only, and no advantage.”²

Chrysostom delivered his next³ sermon on the day preceding Whitsuntide, and finding on that occasion a comparatively small congregation⁴ assembled in the church, he censured the indifference, with which the majority of nominal Christians regarded the concerns of religion: “once in the course of the week,” he said, “we are assembled here; but not even on this one day can they lay aside worldly cares. And if any one upbraid them, they straightways plead poverty, the necessity of procuring sub-

Sermo de
Anna. IV.

¹ The munera honoraria of the senate.

² In the Greek there is a play upon the word *πολιτεια*, which means a state generally, whence also it is made use of to express the heavenly state, or kingdom of heaven. The word is also employed for the administration of a state generally as well as specially, for the public administration of towns, and the administration of offices in the senates of particular towns. Thus in the following passage: *ινα της ανω πολιτειας μετασχειν δυνηθωσιν ημιν οι παιδες, και την εκει λειτουργιαν επιτελεσαι πασαν. Ουκ ιδετε, οτι οι εν ταις πολεσι πολιτευομενοι της θηλης πολλακις τους εαυτων παιδας ευθυς απασθεντας θαλλοφορους και αγωνοθετας και γομνασιάρχους και χορειάρχους ποιουσι;*

³ That is, among the sermons, which are come down to us, upon this subject; for one held before this, and which properly ought to be the fourth, and in which Chrysostom had explained the following words from the prayer of Hannah: “My heart rejoiceth in the Lord,” (1 Sam, ii. 1.) is lost, as appears from the allusion made to it by Chrysostom himself. Hom. in Ann. IV. § 3.

⁴ He says, that not even the principal place of the church was full: *ουδε τον κυριον της εκκλησιας τοπον πληρουμενον εστιν ιδειν.* If we are thereby to understand the interior space for those, who were baptized, the *navis ecclesiae*, Chrysostom demanded a considerable number for the forming of a full church.

sistence, or urgent business,¹—a defence more wicked than the charge, which is brought against them. For can a heavier accusation be made, than that of regarding any call more urgent, than the concerns of God? And were their defence even true, it would, as I have already said, be itself an accusation. But, without one word from me, the day after the morrow will discover to you, that it is an excuse and pretext for idleness. The whole city will then migrate to the Circus; and houses and forums will be deserted to view that illicit show. Here we behold even the chief place in the church unoccupied; but there not only the hippodrome, but also the upper seats, houses, roofs, precipitous walls, and a thousand other places are filled. And neither poverty, nor business, nor bodily infirmity, nor lameness, nor any other similar hindrance, restraineth this incontrollable madness. But men, weighed down by age, hasten thither more eagerly, than the young in the full vigour of life, disgracing their grey hairs, dishonoring their advanced years, and rendering old age itself ridiculous. When they enter this place, they resemble squeamish persons, and feel their attendance irksome; they fall asleep while hearing the divine word; and plead in their defence the confined space, the suffocating heat, and similar excuses. But there, while the sun striketh upon their bare heads; while they are trodden upon; pushed to and fro; pressed together with great violence; and suffering a thousand other inconveniences, they seem to be as much regaled, as though they tarried amid

¹ It appears from this passage, that, notwithstanding the laws, which had been enacted, subsequent to the reign of Constantine, concerning the celebration of Sunday, business was transacted on that day.

fragrant meadows." He next endeavoured to show the prejudicial influence of this engrossing frivolity, and to prove how little fathers, who set such bad examples, were fitted to educate their sons: "Our cities are corrupted, because the instructors of our youth are evil; for how wilt thou be able to lead back to wisdom the young man, who conducteth himself with wantonness and indecency, when thou thyself with thy grey hairs actest thus thoughtlessly; and, after so long an experience, art not yet sated with that most unedifying exhibition? How wilt thou be able to regulate the conduct of thy son, correct the fault of a servant, or admonish any negligent person, while thou thyself, in extreme old age, behavest thus disgracefully?" He further observed: "at our celebration of the Holy Pentecost, so great a multitude will flock hither, that every place here will be crowded. But I prize not such an assemblage; for custom, not piety, bringeth them together. Can any persons be more miserable, than those, whose negligence is replete with so many crimes, and whose seeming diligence is undeserving of praise. For the man, who joineth this meeting with zeal, with an earnest desire and soberness of mind, will always frequent it, and not number himself with those, who only appear on a festival, and with them depart, suffering himself, after the manner of cattle, to be led along by the herd."

After this prelude, he proceeded to explain further the history of Hannah, and having in his former sermon illustrated and applied the words of her song of thanksgiving: "My heart rejoiceth in the Lord;" he now selected as the subject of his discourse, the sentence which immediately follows: "Mine horn is exalted in the Lord." He endeavoured to shew, that

the glory of Hannah was enduring, and had a firm and immoveable root ; because its foundation rested, as she describes it, upon God and not upon man : “ The glory, which cometh of men, resembleth the nothingness of those, who confer it ; wherefore it perisheth easily. Not so the glory which is from God ; it remaineth unshaken for ever. For thus spake the prophet, when declaring the inconstancy of the one, and the stability of the other : ‘ All flesh is grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass. The grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth to the ground.’ But it is not thus with the glory of God ; wherefore the prophet addeth : ‘ but the word of God endureth for ever.’ And this truth is made manifest in this woman. For kings, and generals, and governors, who have striven in manifold ways to immortalize their memories by building splendid sepulchres, by erecting in various places statues and representations of themselves, and by leaving behind them innumerable monuments of their successful deeds, are no longer spoken of, and are not known even by name ; but this woman is celebrated throughout the world. And if thou depart to Scythia, or to Egypt, or to India, or to the furthest ends of the earth, thou wilt hear the righteous deeds of this woman recorded. In short, the glory of Hannah embraceth all the earth, upon which the sun looketh down. Nor is it only worthy of admiration, that this woman is celebrated throughout the world, but likewise that, after the lapse of so long a period of time, her praise is not only undiminished, but even much increased and extended ; that her wisdom, her patience, her endurance, are known to all in cities, in the country, in private dwellings, in camps, in ships : and that in every place her

Isaiah XL.
6—8.

praises are to be heard. For when God willeth to confer glory upon any one,—though death, or length of time, or ought besides, should intervene,—the glory of that person remaineth, and flourisheth for ever; and no one shall be able to obscure its brightness.” He then adverted to her not saying merely: ‘In God’; but ‘In my God;’ thus appropriating to herself the Lord of the universe: “She did not this to disparage His almighty power, but to illustrate and soothe her love. Such is the way of those, who love; they endure not to love, as do the multitude, but they seek to shew their love in a manner especial and peculiar to themselves. Thus David said: ‘Oh God! thou art my God; early will I seek thee.’ Having invoked him as the common Lord, he called upon him as the especial Lord of saints. Again: ‘Oh God, my God, be mindful of me. Why hast thou forsaken me?’ And again: ‘I will say to God, thou art my refuge.’ These are the words of a soul fervent, glowing, and inflamed by strong desire. In like manner did this woman. That men, however, should do so is not surprising; but marvel when ye see, that God doth the same. For as the holy men of old invoked him not, as other men did: so, he himself not only professed to be the God of them and of all others, but also to be especially their God. As when he said: ‘I am the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob,’ not thereby limiting, but rather extending his power; for the multitude of his subjects sheweth not so much forth his power, as doth their virtue; neither rejoiceth he so much in being called the God of heaven, and earth, and sea, and all the things, which are therein, as he doth in being called the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob. And that,

Ps. LXIII. 1.

—XXII. 1.

—XCI. 2.

Exod. III. 6.

which happeneth not among men, we see come to pass with God. For instance : among men, servants are called after their masters, and it is the custom of all to say : This or that deputy, or this or that steward of such a general or such a prefect. No one saith : This or that prefect of such a steward.¹ But we are always accustomed to call inferiors after their superiors. It is otherwise with God. For Abraham is not only said to be the servant of God ; but God is likewise said to be the God of Abraham. And thus the Lord is called after his servant. It was this, at which Paul was astonished, when he said : ‘ Wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God.’ The Lord, saith he, is not ashamed to be called after his servants. And why ? That we may follow his example, and call him our God. But they, saith the apostle, were ‘ strangers and pilgrims,’ and perhaps, therefore, ye will say, that God needed to be ashamed ; for such persons are wont to be despised, as being of little account. But these holy men were not strangers in our sense of the word ; but in another, and an extraordinary manner. For we call them strangers, who having left their own country, arrive in a foreign land. These were not strangers after this wise ; but taking little thought of the whole world, deeming narrow the sphere of earth, they looked for the city, which is in heaven, not from arrogance, but from greatness of soul,—not in folly, but in wisdom. For when they had beholden all the things of earth, and seen that they pass away and perish ; that nought here is lasting and firm, neither riches, nor power, nor glory, nor life itself ; and that each thing hath its end,

Heb. XI. 16.

— — 13.

¹ Ὁ δεινα ἐπίτροπος τοῦ δεινός, ὁ δεινα δίκονομος τοῦ δεινός, τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ὑπαρχοῦ.

and hasteneth to its proper goal ; but that the things of heaven are unlike to them, being infinite and immortal,—they preferred to be strangers amid things inconstant and transitory, that they might hold fast of things eternal. They therefore were strangers, not because they had no country of their own, but because they desired a country, which endureth for ever. And this the apostle himself sheweth, saying : ‘ For they, that say such things, declare plainly, that they seek a country.’ Say then what country was that? Was it that whence they came out? The apostle saith : No : for if they had been mindful of that country, they might have had opportunity to have returned ; but now they desire a better country,—that is, an heavenly, whose builder and maker is God ; wherefore God is not ashamed to be called their God.”

— — 10.
 — — 15.
 16.

Chrysostom then returned to the subject of Hannah, and, resuming his favourite theme, he shewed, that under every vicissitude of life we ought to take refuge in God through prayer : “ It is inconceivable,” he said, “ that a man, who prayeth with becoming zeal, and constantly calleth upon God, should ever sin ; for he who hath warmed his heart, hath raised and transported his soul to heaven, hath invoked his Lord, and, mindful of his sins, holden converse with him concerning their forgiveness, beseeching him to be reconciled and merciful, after such holy exercises layeth aside every worldly thought, soareth as it were on wings, and is raised above human passions ! And should he after prayer behold an enemy, he no longer regardeth him as such,—or a fair woman, he is unmoved by her beauty ; for the fire which is kindled by prayer, abideth within him, and expelleth every wanton thought. But since,

being men, we easily relapse into supineness, shouldest thou, when one, two, or three hours have elapsed after prayer, perceive, that thy former fervour gradually ebb, betake thyself quickly again to prayer, and warm thy cooled heart. And if thou act thus throughout the day, maintaining the warmth of thy devotion during the intervals by the frequency of thy prayer, thou wilt afford the devil no opportunity,—no entrance to thy thoughts.” He then combatted the illusion, that prayer could only be offered up in a consecrated place: “Let us not allege, as an excuse, that no house of prayer is near; since, if we be watchful, the grace of the Spirit hath made ourselves to be the temples of God. For our worship is not such as existed formerly among the Jews, having many outward ceremonies, and requiring much performance. The Jew, when about to pray, needed to go up into the temple to buy a dove, to take in his hands wood and fire, to lay hold of a knife and stand near the altar, and to perform many other ordinances. But with us no such things are required. Wherever thou art, thou bearest with thee, altar, knife, and victim,—being thyself priest, altar, and sacrifice. Wherever thou art, thou mayest erect an altar, if only thou manifest a sober will. The place shall be no hindrance, the time no obstacle; and though thou bend not thy knees, nor beat thy breast, nor raise thine hands to heaven, but only discover a warm heart, thy prayer shall be deficient in nought. The matron, holding in her hand the distaff, and weaving the web, may look upwards in her soul to heaven, and fervently call upon God. One man may betake himself to the forum, and, as he wendeth thither alone, may offer up an earnest

prayer. Another, while he sitteth in his workshop and seweth skins together, may dedicate his soul to the Lord. A servant, when buying provisions, when running up and down, or assisting in the kitchen, being prevented going to church, may offer up an ardent and awakened prayer, God is not ashamed of the place. He only requireth a warm heart, and a wakeful soul. And that ye may know, that neither external forms, nor place, nor seasons are required, but only an upright and watchful soul,—Paul when lying in prison with his face upwards, not standing erect,—for the stocks, to which his feet were bound, prevented him,—but stretched upon the ground, having prayed with fervour, shook the prison, moved the foundations, and frightened the keeper, who was straightway baptized. Again, Hezekiah, neither upon bended knees nor standing upright, but lying upon a bed, on account of sickness, with his face upward, having turned himself to the wall, and prayed with an ardent and sober mind, caused God to recall the sentence, which had been spoken against him, drew unto himself great favour, and was restored to his former health. Nor do we see this come to pass only among the holy, but even among the wicked. For the thief neither standing in a house of prayer, nor with bended knees, but stretched upon the cross, by a few words obtained the kingdom of heaven. One when cast into a pit of mire, another in the den of wild beasts, another shut up in the belly of the whale, having called upon God, dispelled the impending evils, and drew to themselves grace from above.”

Acts XVI.

II.Kgs.XX.

Luk.XXIII.
42, 43.

His words having been received with the usual marks of applause, which had found their

way into the church, from the theatre and schools of the rhetoricians, he added : “ I have not said these things, in order that ye should testify your applause and admiration ; but that ye may shew them forth in your works, that so your day-time, your night-time, and your hours of labour may be fenced about and encompassed by prayer.”

It came to pass, that the church, as Chrysostom had predicted in his last sermon, was crowded to so great an excess on Whitsuntide, that no place remained vacant ; but on the following Sunday he found only a small congregation composed of those, who were accustomed always to attend.¹ He thus commented upon this circumstance at the commencement of his sermon : “ In vain, it seemeth, we exhorted those who were present at our last meeting, persuading them to abide in the paternal mansion, and not to come and depart with the crowd, which only appeareth among us on a festival. Yea, rather, not in vain ; for had not even one of them been persuaded by our discourse, yet hath a reward been prepared for ourselves, and our justification towards God made perfect. Wherefore the preacher should scatter seeds, whether any one attend or not, and deposit silver, that the account to be rendered to God may not be of the money, but the money-changers. And this we did by accusation, by reproof, by entreaty and advice. For we called to their remembrance the son, who wasted his substance, and returned to his father’s house ; and we, moreover, set before them the full extent of his misery, his hunger, shame and infamy, and whatsoever other suffer-

Sermo de
Anna V.

¹ Chrysostom thus addresses them : *ἑμεῖς οἱ ἀεὶ μεθ’ ἡμῶν οὐτεσ.*

ings he endured in a strange land, desiring by this example to render them wiser. Neither did we stay our discourse there, but we pointed out the affection of the father towards them ; we required no account of their past negligence ; we received them with outstretched arms, granting them pardon of their sins, opening the house, spreading a table before them, throwing around them the garb of instruction, and rendering them every other service. But they imitated not that son, nor repented of their former secession, nor remained in the paternal mansion, but again departed. Therefore it would be your duty, oh ye, who are ever with me ! to lead them back, and prevail upon them to celebrate with us the festival of every meeting." He then took up the argument of Christian festivals not being confined to stated periods, and continued : " For though the day of Pentecost hath passed, the festival hath not. Since every assembly of the faithful is a festival. This is manifest from the words of Christ himself : ' Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' But if Christ be in the midst of the congregation, what other, what greater proof of a festival would ye require ? Where there is instruction and prayer ; where the blessings of the fathers are bestowed ; where the divine laws are heard ; where brethren are met together ; and the bond of true love prevaieth ; where man holdeth converse with God, and God speaketh to man ; is there not a festival, a grand panegyry ? For it is not the number of the congregated, which constituteth a festival ; not the costliness of apparel, but the garniture of piety ; not the sumptuousness of the table, but the watchfulness of the soul ; for the greatest festival is a

good conscience." Accordingly he concluded by saying, that for himself and his hearers this Sunday was as much a festival as Whitsuntide : " In what respect," said he, " doth the former congregation excel the present ? In nothing save tumult and noise. For since there is to-day the same participation in the holy mysteries, and the same communion of the other spiritual gifts and exercises, as of prayer, of hearing the word, of benediction, of love, and of all the various means of grace, this day is in no respect inferior to the former, either with regard to you or to myself, who am now addressing you. For they who heard us then, will hear us now. Neither were they, who are absent now, present then, though they seemed in the body to be present. They hear not now, neither heard they then. And not only heard they not ; but they molested those, who were hearing, by the tumult and noise, which they made. Therefore the spectators are the same to me now, as then ; the assembly of hearers is the same, and in no wise inferior to the former. Nay, were it permitted me to say aught, which seemeth strange, this meeting excelleth the former, inasmuch as the discourse is held without noise, the instruction given without tumult, and the hearing on that account attended with greater edification."

Having been obliged to discontinue the history of Hannah, that he might choose a subject suited to the day of Pentecost, and having resumed it, he followed up the text, which he had last explained, and dwelt upon the words of Hannah : " My mouth is enlarged over my enemies ; because I rejoyce in thy salvation." He observed that in these words no desire was to be traced of avenging herself upon her ad-

1 Sam. II. 1.

versary, no rejoicing at being able to put her to shame, only the satisfaction of being delivered from her own humiliation. He then remarked that she rejoiced not merely in her salvation, but in that salvation as obtained through God. "It is thus," he said, "with the souls of the saints, they rejoice less in the gifts, than in God, by whom they are given; for they love him not for the sake of his gifts, but they love his gifts for the sake of the giver." This led him to expatiate upon one of his favourite themes, the disinterested love of God: "Let us, I beseech you, be of this mind: if we sin, let us not grieve, because we are conscious of impending punishment, but because we have offended God; and should we do aught that is good, let us not rejoice at our reward in heaven, but at our having pleased the Lord of Heaven; for to offend God is to him, who hath understanding, a thing more dreadful, than hell itself, as in like manner to please God is more to be desired, than the kingdom of Heaven. Of this mind was Paul; wherefore he said: 'I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.' And when we deem the holy martyrs blest, we first set forth their wounds, afterwards their rewards,—first their stripes, then the crowns reserved for them. For rewards arise from wounds, not wounds from rewards. In like manner, this blessed man rejoiced more in his sufferings for the sake of Christ, than in the good things, which were laid up in store for him: and he exclaimed, saying: 'I rejoice in my sufferings for you.'

Rom. VIII.
39—40.

Col. I. 24.

Again : ' Not only so, but we glory in tribulations also.' And again : ' For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake.' For, of a truth, it is the greatest mark of divine favor, to be thought worthy of suffering for Christ's sake ; it is a crown made perfect, a reward not less, than the retribution to come hereafter ; and they know this, who love Christ truly and fervently. Such was the desire and ardent love of Hannah towards God. Wherefore she said : ' I rejoice in thy salvation.' She had nothing in common with the earth, but rejecting all human aid, and winged by the grace of the Spirit, she was lifted up, and looked to God in all things, and sought from him deliverance from the troubles by which she was oppressed. For she knew, she well knew, that all human gifts whatsoever resemble the nature of those, by whom they are dispensed, and that in everything we have need of assistance from above, if we would lie at anchor in security. Wherefore in all things she took refuge with God, and having accepted the gift, she rather rejoiced in the giver ; and rendering thanks, she said : ' There is none holy as the Lord, there is none righteous as our God, and there is none holy except thee.' For his judgment, said she, is past finding out ; his decree is holy and sure. Such is the reasoning of a thankful soul. She said not within herself,—what great benefit hath been conferred upon me ? What more hath been done unto me, than unto others ? That, which my rival had long before received in abundance, I have at last with great difficulty obtained, after great suffering, after many tears, prayers, and supplications. But, having a full trust in the divine providence, she demanded

Rom. V. 3.

Phil. I. 29.

I Sam. II. 1.

I Sam. II. 2.

not from God reasons of his dispensations towards her, as many do, calling him daily to an account." He then commented upon the discontent, with which men regarded the divine economy, and the unequal distribution of property. He endeavoured to prove, that this unequal division of property was important to the improvement of human nature, and that the various arts and trades without it would never have arisen: "For now the pressure of impending poverty, as the best of masters, urgeth each labourer, even though he be unwilling, to his work. But if all men became rich, they all would live in sloth, and thus the whole constitution of society would be broken up, and everything be involved in ruin." He then proceeded to draw a contrast between the poor and the rich man, in order to point out what advantages the former had over the latter. Among other things he says: "Sleep, the sweetest and most needful of enjoyments, the chief nourisher of life, is with the poor more ready and more sound, than with the rich. They, who live in luxury, are wont to detract from their pleasures by feasting before they are hungry, drinking before they are thirsty, and reposing before they are fatigued. For it is not so much in the nature of enjoyments, as in the due use of them, that their delight consisteth. Therefore a draught of old and fragrant wine gratifieth not so much the rich man, as one of water doth the poor and thirsty; neither is a repast of dainties so savoury to the luxurious, as the coarsest food is to the hungry; nor is rest upon a soft couch so grateful to the indolent, as sleep upon the hardest bed is to the weary. In all which things, the poor have rather the advantage over the rich." "Let us not, therefore," were his

concluding words, “murmur after the manner of ungrateful servants, nor accuse the Lord, but in all things rejoice; and let us be convinced, that there existeth but one evil, sin,—and but one good, righteousness; for if we be of this mind, neither sickness, nor poverty, nor shame, nor any of those things, which are regarded as grievous, will afflict us; and after having in everything tasted pure joy here below, we shall attain to the blessings of futurity, through the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit be glory for ever and ever. Amen.”

During this year Chrysostom appears to have been often interrupted in the exercise of his vocation by sickness, which had been brought on by his former ascetic practices. When, after a second illness, he was sufficiently recovered to preach again, he began by testifying his joy at being enabled to re-appear in the midst of his beloved flock, the separation from whom had been more painful to him than the disease itself. He then alluded, as was often his custom, to the sermons preached during the late Fast, by which he had induced a part of his congregation to pass a law among themselves renouncing all forms of asseveration, except yea and nay. While he praised those, who had entered into an agreement strictly to fulfil this command of Christ, he at the same time added, that they must not suppose, that it was enough to comply with this single injunction; for the observance of all the commands of Christ was necessary to form the harmony of a Christian life; and he therefore required of them to obey another more difficult law, that of suppressing anger and revenge, and of forgiving injuries, in support of which exhortation he explained and applied the

Hom. De
Decem
Mill. Talent.
Debitore.
Tom. III.

Matth.
XVIII. 23.

II Cor. V.
10.

parable of the ten talents : “ Let us then,” he said, “ hear this parable. For though its meaning may at first seem manifest, it containeth a hidden and unspeakable treasure. ‘ The kingdom of heaven is likened unto a certain king, who would take account of his servants.’ Run not merely over these words, but unfold to me the nature of that judgment-seat ; having entered thy conscience, examine whatsoever deeds thou hast done in thy whole life ; and when thou hearest, that the Lord taketh account of his servants, understand thereby of kings, of generals, of governors, of rich, of poor, of bond, of free, and of all men : ‘ for we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ.’ If thou be rich, consider, that thou wilt have to render account of whether thou have expended thy wealth upon courtezans or upon the poor ? whether upon parasites and flatterers, or upon the needy ? whether in debauchery or in charity ? whether in luxury, excess, and drunkenness, or in aid of the afflicted ? Not only will an account be demanded of thee concerning thy expenditure, but likewise concerning the manner in which thou hast amassed thy wealth. Whether by honest toil, or by rapine and avarice ? Whether thou have received it an hereditary patrimony, or acquired it by ruining the inheritance of the orphan, and by spoiling the property of the widow ? For as we demand an account of our servants, not only concerning expenditure, but also concerning income, inquiring, whence they receive the money, from whom, in what manner, and how much ? So God not only requireth of us an account of how we spend our riches ; but of how we acquire them. Not only must the rich man render an account of his wealth, but the poor man likewise of his

penury. Whether he have endured it well? and with a due sense of gratitude towards God? Whether he have not been impatient and repined? Whether he have not arraigned divine Providence upon beholding another man living in luxury and excess, while himself was in need? For as the rich man is required to give an account of his alms; so is the poor man of his endurance. Yea, not of his endurance only, but of his alms likewise. For poverty is no hindrance to charity. Whereof the widow is a proof, who 'threw two mites into the treasury;' and by that small gift surpassed those, who cast in much. Not only rich and poor, but also rulers and judges will be severely examined, whether they have corrupted justice; whether from favor or from hate they have decided between litigants; whether they have been moved by flattery to judge unrighteously, or, mindful of an offence, have wronged the innocent? Not only the civil magistrates, but those set over the Church, will have to render an account of their rule. These, above all others, will have to answer a heavy and severe examination to the full. For of those, to whom the ministry of the word is committed, will be diligently inquired, whether through fear or through envy they have neglected to teach any of the things necessary to salvation? Whether they have set forth the same by their works? Whether they have clearly explained everything; and hidden nought that is profitable? Again, he who hath attained to the office of bishop, will have to stand a trial, severe as the height, which he hath ascended, is great. Not only will he be answerable, as concerneth his doctrine and his protection of the poor, but likewise as to his duly proving those, upon

Mark XII.
42.

whom he layeth hands ; and innumerable other matters. For, making known these things, Paul wrote to Timothy : ‘ Lay hands suddenly on no man ; neither be partaker of other men’s sins.’ And exhorting the Hebrews touching these same spiritual rulers, he made them to fear in another way, saying thus : ‘ Obey them that have rule over you, and submit yourselves ; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account.’ ” He then further pointed out, that the account to be rendered will not only comprise those expressions of feeling, which exhibit themselves in words and works, but will make known the hidden thoughts : “ Paul declaring this very thing, said : ‘ Judge nothing before the time until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the councils of the heart.’ The Psalmist also saith : ‘ The inward thoughts of man shall confess to thee.’ What meaneth this : ‘ The inward thoughts of man shall confess to thee ? ’ When thou speakest to thy brother with deceit, and with an evil mind ; when thy mouth and tongue laud him, but thou imaginest evil against him, and enviest him. Again Christ alluding to this same thing, said, that we should not only have to render an account of our deeds, but likewise of our thoughts : ‘ Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery already with her in his heart.’ ” The severe proceeding of the Lord towards his servant, represented, he said, the way in which God leads men to a consciousness of their guilt, in order afterwards to pardon them ; and it is this consciousness, which should render them lenient towards others : “ Wherefore,” he said, “ did the king, not being about to execute his threat, command his ser-

1 Tim. V. 22.

Heb. XIII.
17.

1 Cor. IV. 5.

Psalm
LXXV. 11.

Matt. V. 28.

vant to be sold? that he might add to his fear. He added to his fear by the threat, in order that he might compel him to supplicate. He compelled him to supplicate, that he might take an opportunity of pardoning him. He could have loosed him without entreaty, but he did not, lest he might render him more wicked. He could have pardoned him without demanding an account; but, lest being ignorant of the height of his sin, he might become more inhuman and cruel towards his fellow servants, he taught him first the greatness of his debt, and then forgave it him all. For if after an account having been required, the debt proved, the threat given, and the just condemnation, which he was to undergo, declared, he was thus barbarous and cruel towards his fellow servant, whither would his ferocity not have proceeded, had none of these things taken place?"

From the example of the servant, who besought his master to have patience with him, he recommended confidence in the divine mercy: "May all," he said, "who are negligent in prayer, learn hence its great power. The servant in the parable pleaded neither fasting, nor the renouncement of earthly possessions, nor any similar justification; but, standing alone, and destitute of every redeeming grace, he had only to supplicate his Lord, and obtain compassion. Let us not then be negligent in prayer; for who could be more guilty, than this servant, who had so heavy an account to render, and not one good act to plead in his justification? Yet he said not within himself; I dare not speak. I am filled with shame. How can I approach my Lord? How can I beseech him? as many sinners say, who labor under a humility, which cometh of the devil. Doth a trust in thy right-

cousness fail thee? Seek then the Lord, and gain confidence; for he, with whom thou art to be reconciled, is not a man, that thou needest to be ashamed. God desireth to free thee from sin more, than thou thyself desirest to be freed. Thou hast not so great a care for thy salvation, as the Almighty hath, of which he convinceth thee by his works. Hast thou no trust in thyself? Because thou art thus minded, thou mayst have confidence. For as the true foundation of confidence is to believe, that thou canst have none; so is it the greatest disgrace to justify thyself before the Lord; and whosoever believeth himself able to do so, is unclean, though he were more holy than all other men; as in like manner, he is justified, who believeth himself to be of all sinners the greatest, whereto the parable of the pharisee and publican testifieth." Passing from the compassion, which the servant had obtained by his contrition and humility, to his harshness towards his fellow servant, he said: "Perceivest thou not, how good a thing it is to be mindful of our sins? For had this man been always mindful of them, he would not have become thus cruel and inhuman. Wherefore, I tell you, and I will never cease to tell you, that it is very salutary and necessary to be continually mindful of all our sins. Nought sooner winneth the soul to wisdom, meekness, and charity, than a constant remembrance of our sins. Wherefore Paul was not only mindful of the sins, which he had committed after baptism, but also of those, which he had committed before baptism; although these last had at once been washed out. But if he was mindful of his sins before baptism, how much more ought we to be mindful of ours after baptism? For, by a remembrance of them they shall not only be

blotted out; but we likewise shall become more charitably disposed towards all men, and shall serve God with greater cheerfulness, being thereby given a more lively sense of his unspeakable love towards us. The servant acted not thus; but, having forgotten the greatness of his debt, he also forgot the mercy which had been shewed to him. Forgetful of that mercy, his heart became hardened towards his fellow servant; and by his cruelty towards him he lost all, which he had gained through the compassion of God."

Chrysostom then makes of the proceeding of the Lord towards his servant such an application, as proves indeed his pure Christian spirit, and which arose from an endeavour to oppose the practical errors of his day; but in it is to be perceived his deficiency of a dogmatical and ethic exposition of the Bible, which prevented his discovering the real source of those errors; he said: "After the servant had cruelly treated his fellow servant, the Lord was wroth, that ye might learn hence, that God more readily pardoneth the sins against himself, than those against our neighbour. And this is not the only instance, in which our Lord declareth the same: 'If thou bring,' saith he elsewhere, 'thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.' Behold! how much greater Christ considereth our sins against one another, than our sins against himself,—how much beyond all other virtues he exalteth peace and love towards our neighbour. And again in another place: 'Whosoever shall put away his wife, saving for the cause of fornication, causeth

Matt. V. 23,
24.

Matt.V.32.

I Cor. VII.
12.

her to commit adultery.' He thus also declareth the law through Paul: 'If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.' If, said he, the woman sin against thee, separate thyself from her; but if she sin against me, retain her. Thus was it here. When the servant owed his lord a heavy debt, his lord forgave it him; but when the servant forgave not his fellow servant a debt, though it was much less than that, which he himself had been forgiven, his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors. In the one instance also the lord called the servant wicked; in the other, he grieved him not by a word."

To understand properly these words we must take into consideration a custom, which had long prevailed, of distinguishing sins against God from sins against our neighbour. This division frequently led to an arbitrary and prejudicial estimate of sin; for it did not acknowledge all sins to be equally sins against God, but it only stamped as such, certain sins, which were supposed to have an immediate relation to the honor of God, such as denial of faith, false doctrine, &c.; and it considered other sins more venial, as though they did not directly affect the honor of God. Chrysostom clearly intended to combat this perverted view of morality; but he acknowledges as correct that division of sins, to which it owed its origin, and applied it in a manner, which was neither exegetically nor logically tenable. We perceive here a deficiency, which may also be discerned in other sermons of Chrysostom, whose education was more of a rhetorical, than dialectic nature.

He closed this discourse with the following words: "Let us strive after nothing so much

as to divest ourselves of anger, and conciliate those, who are hostilely inclined towards us ; knowing, that neither prayer, nor alms, nor fasting, nor the partaking of the Lord's Supper will plead for us on the last day, if we forget not the injuries done unto us."

To impress this exhortation strongly upon the hearts of his flock, he selected, a short time after this, the History of David for the subject of three discourses, in which he dwelt particularly upon the conduct of David to Saul. He commenced the first of these sermons in the following words: "When a chronic schirrous inflammation hath fixed itself in the body, much time, labor, and great wisdom in the application of remedies are needful, in order to remove the tumor with safety. The same is discernible with regard to the soul. For if any one desire to eradicate a passion, which hath taken root, and long abided in the soul, the admonition of one or two days will not suffice for the accomplishment of his purpose ; but it will be necessary to follow up the subject in many successive discourses, if so be that he preach not for his own honor, nor for the entertainment of his hearers, but for their advantage and edification. Wherefore we will now pursue the same plan with respect to anger, as we formerly did with respect to oaths, and discourse to you for many days successively on this subject, and exhort you continually thereupon to the utmost of our power ; for it seemeth to me, that the best mode of instruction is not to desist from an exhortation, until we perceive it to be attended with a good and practical result ; and that he, who leapeth from this to that subject, and again from that to another,—who preacheth to-day upon alms, to-morrow upon prayer, then upon

Hom. de
David et
Saul I.

meekness, then upon humility, will reap no fruit in the minds of his hearers." Chrysostom was therefore resolved to act with respect to the forgiveness of injuries, as he had formerly done with respect to swearing.

The rhetorical delineations of Chrysostom often produced upon the susceptible Byzantines great momentary emotions, of which he took immediate advantage. Thus having perceived, while delivering the second of these discourses, that some of his hearers shed tears, he exclaimed: "While ye are thus affected, think ye for my sake each man upon his enemy, though your hearts be overflowing with grief; seek to preserve him while living; mourn for him, when dead,—not by outward demonstration, but in sincerity of heart and soul; and though yourselves be called upon to suffer in averting evil from the man, who hath wronged you, be ready to do and to undergo all things, that great may be your reward in heaven."

Hom. de
David et
Saul II.

Divine worship on the preceding Sunday having been celebrated during a performance at one of the public theatres, he commenced the third of these discourses with an admonition, which afforded him little time to resume his subject.

The opening of the public theatres on Sunday had long been forbidden; ¹ but the levity of the Byzantines, to whom the Circenses were as daily bread, prevented the execution of the law, and called for its increased severity; for we find that an African Council at Carthage, A.D. 401.

¹ Perhaps by the Emperor Constantine. In a law enacted A.D. 386, it is expressly declared: *ne quis in legem nostram, quam dudum tulimus, committat, nullus solis diè populo spectaculum præbeat, nec divinam venerationem confecta solemnitate confundat.* Cod. Theodos. L. XV. Tit. V. l. 2.

petitioned the Emperor on this subject, and complained, that even on the solemn Sunday, which preceded Easter Day, which closed the whole of the Easter Festival, and upon which the neophytes were admitted into the congregation, the Circus was more frequented, than the Church.¹ This law had not been extended to all Christian holidays ;² for Chrysostom frequently complained, that during the Fast, which was appointed to awaken the people to repentance, the minds of men were drawn away and distracted by these noisy diversions.³

Thus in the present instance, Chrysostom,—believing, that he observed among his hearers some of the thoughtless persons, who had preferred the theatre to the church on the preceding Sunday,—began his discourse by saying, that he regretted being unable to distinguish those individuals with certainty, in order to exclude them from a participation in the Holy Communion, until they gave proofs of repentance. He thence took occasion to expatiate upon the great guilt of receiving the Body of the Lord with a

Hom. de
David et
Saul III.

¹ Petendum, ut spectacula theatrorum cæterorumque ludorum diè dominica vel cæteris religionis Christianæ diebus celeberrimis amoveantur, maximè quia paschæ octavorum diè populi ad circum magis quam ad ecclesiam conveniunt. Cod. Canon. Eccles. Afr. c. 61.

² It was first extended to the Festivals of Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, and the whole period from Easter to Whitsuntide, by a law, A.D. 425.

³ Vide Hom. in Genes. VI. “ Here, if we extend our discourse to a little more, than usual length, many are vexed and sad, and plead fatigue and bodily exhaustion, notwithstanding the comfort, which this wonderful roof affordeth them ; for they can neither be exposed to cold, to rain, or the violence of the winds ; but there, although the rain come down in torrents, and strong winds blow, or although at other times the sun send down upon them its burning rays, they spend not only one or two hours, but the greatest part of the day.”

profane mind, and to point out the pernicious influence, which the passion for theatrical shows exercised upon Christian, and especially upon domestic life. He then brought to a termination the subject of his two former discourses.

The labors of Chrysostom, as preacher at Antioch, during the eventful times already described, are a miniature of his whole ministry. He sought on every occasion to impress upon the heart the practical truths of religion, in opposition to the prevailing vices, perverse inclinations, and prejudices, which were the chief obstacles to the penetrating influence of Christianity. He sought especially to expose the iniquity, which, under a false show of Christianity, became the more dangerous, and to caution his hearers against such hypocrisy. The warm and lively feelings of Chrysostom, and the natural disposition of his mind, prone to vehement ebullitions, were calculated to render him impatient and desponding, after having so often repeated the same admonitions against the manifold corruptions of his day, without producing any great effect upon the lives of the majority. But he knew, that a preacher of the divine word never should grow weary of bearing witness to its truth, and of rebuking sin, though he see not before him the desired result in the lives of men. Being told, that he always repeated the same exhortations, he answered : “ We, to whom the ministry of the word hath been committed, have been commanded by the gracious God never to be wanting on our part, and, whether hearkened unto or not, never to be silent. Hear the words of Jeremiah himself, who, when he was scoffed at by his hearers, and held daily in derision, because he threatened the Jews, and foreshewed their desolation,

thought at one moment of resigning his prophetic office, for human weakness overcame him, and he could not endure the derision and reproach. Hear his declaration : ‘ I was in derision daily. I said, I will not speak, nor name the name of the Lord. But there was in me, as it were, a burning fire raging in my bones. I was sinking on every side, and I could not stay.’¹ He saith : I desire to desist from my ministry, because the Jews hearkened not ; and, while I was pondering this thing in my heart, the power of the Spirit rushed as fire upon my soul, kindled a flame in all my inmost parts, consuming and eating up my bones, so that I could not endure the burning. If then one, who was daily derided, mocked and reviled, incurred so severe a punishment, because he purposed to be silent, of what pardon should we, who have experienced no such sufferings, be deserving, were we to become faint-hearted, and desist from our preaching on account of the indifference of a few, whilst so many attend to our exhortations. I speak not this to my own consolation or encouragement ; *for it is the firm resolve of my soul, as long as I breathe, and as long as it pleaseth God to continue me in this present life, to perform this service, and, whether I am listened to or not, to do that, which the Lord hath commanded me.*”

Jer. XX. 7,
9.

Chrysostom was wont to say, that it was the crowded churches, and the zealous celebration of divine service, which distinguished Antioch above other cities : “ I shall never cease ” said he, “ to declare, that the preeminence of our

Hom. in
Illud. Vidi
Dom. IV.

¹ I have translated this citation from the Greek of the Septuagint, which differs a good deal from our Hebrew translation. The Greek Fathers always cite from the above version of the Old Testament.

city consisteth not in its having a Senate, nor in its being able to number consuls among its citizens, nor in the multitude of its statues, nor in the richness and variety of its merchandize, nor in the convenience of its site ; but in its having a people that longeth after the divine word, in the crowded temples¹ of God, in the daily enjoyment of a full discourse, and in an insatiate desire of hearing instruction : for a city is not exalted by its edifices, but by its inhabitants. Tell me not that Rome is great, because it is extensive ; but show me there a people equally desirous of hearing the word. Sodom had its towers ; Abram his tent : yet the angels turned aside from Sodom, and bent their way to the tent. For they sought not a splendid edifice ; but they sought around for holiness and beauty of soul. In like manner, John was in the desert, Herod in the city ; wherefore the desert was more honoured than the city. The ministry resteth not on edifices. I say these things, that ye may not laud your city, sunken in its iniquity. Tell me not of edifices and columns. They fall to ruins with the things of time. Enter the church, and behold the nobles of our city ! Behold the poor watching from midnight until dawn,² neither yielding to the power of sleep by night, not shrinking from want by day !”

It is manifest, however, from other passages of his sermons, that this praise was principally due to the poorer and middle classes of Antioch. Among the high and rich were many, who

¹ I observe that in the Greek of Chrysostom the word *ναος*, temple, is used in the plural, which would seem to militate against Neander's observation at the beginning of this period, as to there being no smaller independent churches at Antioch.

² The meetings for common prayer and singing in the solemn stillness of the night : *vigiliæ*, *pervigilia*.

believed, that nothing more was requisite, than to attend the church on solemn Festivals, and during the Fast of Lent. They deemed their time too precious to devote to any occupation, except that of business or pleasure. The heat in the church was insupportable, the crowd troublesome; the air oppressive.¹ When they had to choose between the church, and the theatre or circus, the latter were generally preferred. Chrysostom, therefore, as we have already seen in the short period, over which the present series of discourses is distributed, always found his church crowded on the great festivals; but on all other days the number of his hearers was small, and of these very few were from among the higher classes.² On this account he had frequently to point out the blessing, which a church-communion imparts to all men.

This will be further elucidated by a selection of some passages from his sermons at Antioch, in one of which, he said: "Ye always put forward your military duties, as an excuse for neglecting public worship, but the excuse is groundless; for Cornelius was a Centurion, and his duty prevented not his leading a godly life. Neither discipline nor the fear of incurring the displeasure of your superiors deter you from wasting your hours in the theatre; but when we call upon you to frequent the church, a thousand difficulties arise."

Savil. III.
273.

Deeply as Chrysostom was impressed with

¹ Και γαρ και ταυτα ακουω λεγοντων, οτι σφοδρον το πνιγος νυν, το κανμα αφορητον, οκ ισχυρομεν στενοχωρεισθαι και θλιβεσθαι εν τω πληθει, ιδρωτι παντοθεν περριρευομενοι. Ed. Mont. Tom. III. f. 159.

² See also the commencement of his Homily upon the preamble of the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians: οταν εις την ολιγοτητα απιδω την υμετεραν, και το ποιμνιον θεασωμαι καθ'εκαστην συναξιν ελαττουμενον. Montf. III. f. 128.

the nature of Christian worship, which is confined to no particular time or place, and distinctly as he separated the institutions of the Jewish and Christian religions, he nevertheless made allowances for the weakness and wants of our sensual nature, which can only be prepared gradually for the glory hereafter. Wherefore he says in a discourse complaining of a general neglect of attendance at church on ordinary Sundays: "Have ye not heard the words of the Psalmist? 'I had rather be a door-keeper in the house of my God, than to dwell in the tents of ungodliness.' He saith not: I had rather dwell, or abide, or enter,—far more than this,—I had rather be a door-keeper,—it were better to occupy the meanest place in the house of my God. I am contented, if I be thought worthy of entering the porch. I regard as the greatest of gifts, to be numbered among the last in the house of my God. So powerful is ardent love, that it appropriateth to itself the common Lord. Wherefore he saith: 'In the house of my God.' The lover requireth to see not only the beloved one, but likewise her dwelling, even the door of her dwelling, and not the door only, but the very alley or street in which her dwelling is; and in her garment, or in her shoe, he thinketh to behold the beloved herself. Thus was it with the holy prophets. They could not see God, who is a Spirit, but they beheld his house; and in his house they felt as if conscious of his presence. Every place, as compared with the house of God, is a tent of ungodliness; whether it be the court of justice, the senate house, or the house of an individual; and though prayers and supplications be offered up therein, disputes, and contests, and reproaches, and assemblies

In III. Paul.
Vocat.
Tom. III.
f. 129.

Psalm
LXXXIV.
11.

engrossed by the affairs of this world, will always be there. This house alone is undefiled. Wherefore those are the tabernacles of sinners; but this is the house of God. And, as a haven protected from the winds and waves, affordeth shelter to the ships, which run therein from the storm: so likewise the house of God rescueth from a tempest of external cares, those who enter it, imparteth to them peace and safety, and permitteth them to hear the divine word. This place is the path to virtue, the school of wisdom; not only when the people are gathered together,—when the Holy Scriptures are read,—when spiritual instruction is imparted,—and when the venerable band of elders sit here assembled; but if at any time thou enter but the porch, thou wilt instantly lay aside all worldly cares, and as it were, some spiritual air will wave around thy soul. The stillness itself enforceth awe, and teacheth wisdom; it elevateth the mind; it suffereth no thought upon the things of time; it raiseth thee from earth to heaven.”

At the festival of Christ's baptism, which was one of the principal holidays of the Greek Church, he addressed a numerous congregation in the following words: “To-day ye all are filled with joy, and I alone am sad. For when I survey this Christian assembly, which may be likened to the wide ocean, and contemplate the infinite riches of the Church; when I consider, that this festival will no sooner have passed away, than this multitude will hastily depart, I am sorely grieved, that the Church, which hath begotten so many children, cannot rejoice in them at every celebration of divine service, but only on a festival. How great would be the spiritual exultation, how great the joy, how

Hom. de
Baptism.
Christi.
Tom. II.
f. 367.

great the glory rendered to God, how great the benefit conferred on souls, could we behold at every performance of divine service the church and its enclosures thus crowded. Masters and pilots, when they traverse the deep, use their utmost endeavors to reach a haven; but we strive to toss on the open sea, overwhelmed by the billows of worldly cares, haunting the forums and tribunals; but coming hither scarce once or twice in the year. Know ye not, that even as God hath fixed harbours on the borders of the sea, so hath he planted churches in the cities, that, flying hither from the stir of worldly tumults, we may rejoice in the profoundest peace. For here are neither to be dreaded the vast surges of the ocean, nor the attacks of robbers, nor the assaults of malefactors, nor the violence of winds, nor the ambushments of wild beasts. It is a haven exempt from all these dangers,—the haven of souls,—of which yourselves bear witness; for could any one of you at this moment look into his soul, he would find therein a rest, where no anger troubleth, no lust inflameth, where envy consumeth not, vanity puffeth not up, ambition leadeth not astray; all these monsters are held in awe, while the words of the Holy Scriptures, like to some heavenly strain, penetrate through every ear into the soul, and still the furious passions.” He then alluded to the poverty, which many pleaded, as an excuse for their rare attendance at church, and observed, that if they devoted six days of the week to worldly gain, they might well withdraw the seventh, or only two hours of that day from such an occupation, and exclusively dedicate them to higher objects: “ Say, if ye come among us once or twice only in the year, what shall we be able to teach you

of those things, which each Christian ought to know concerning the soul, the body, immortality, the kingdom of heaven, punishment, hell, the forbearance of God, the atonement, repentance, baptism, the remission of sins, the higher and lower worlds, the nature of man, the angels, the wickedness of evil spirits, the deceits of the devil, moral conduct, doctrine, a right faith, and pernicious heresies? These things and many more than these a Christian ought to know, and render an account of, to those who ask him. But ye will not be able to learn the least part of them, if ye assemble here but once a year, and then devoid of a proper seriousness, in obedience to the custom of the festival, not from a love of God. For I would that every man, who constantly cometh hither, when we are gathered together, should be able to retain a sure knowledge of these things. Many of you, who are here present have servants and children, and when ye deliver them over to the masters of the various arts, whom ye may have chosen for their teachers, ye at once forbid them your house, and supply them with furniture for their couches, with food, and with all other suitable provision. Ye make them to dwell in the same habitation with the master, and exclude them from your house, that no care may disturb their study, and that a constant abode with him may ensure a more certain knowledge of the art. Yet when ye have to learn no common art but the greatest of all arts, that of pleasing God and attaining to the joys of heaven, ye think that ye shall be able to accomplish it lightly. How great is this folly! For that to acquire this knowledge needeth much attention, ye may know from these words of Christ: 'Learn of me; for I am meek and lowly in heart.' Again

1Pet. III. 15.

Matt. XI.
29.

Ps. XXXIV. 2. the Psalmist saith : ‘ Come ye children hearken unto me ; I will teach you the fear of the Lord.’

Ps. XLVI. 10. And again : ‘ Be still and know that I am God ;’ so, that he, who desireth to attain to this wisdom, needeth to be diligent therein.”

Hom. in
Sanct. Lu-
cian Marty-
rem. Tom.
II.

When he preached on the following day, which was sacred to the memory of a martyr at Antioch, he found, as he had foretold, a much smaller congregation assembled, and he therefore spoke again of the benefit to be derived from attending the church : “ He, who cometh hither with faith and zeal, departeth with much treasure. Were he only to open his mouth, he would scatter among those around him every sweet odour, and fill them with spiritual riches ; and were a thousand misfortunes to befall him, he would easily endure them all, having taken hence from the Holy Scriptures a sufficient store of patience and of wisdom. And as one, who ever standeth upon a rock, may deride the waves : so the man who profiteth continually by the assemblies of the church, and is refreshed by a godly discourse, standing aloft upon the solid foundation of a righteous judgment, will not be subject to human accidents ; for he hath placed himself beyond the reach of worldly affections. Having gathered much benefit and consolation, not only from the exhortation, but likewise from prayer, from the paternal benediction, from Christian communion, from brotherly love, and from many other sources, he departeth hence, and beareth home innumerable blessings.” On a similar occasion, in a discourse held shortly after Easter, he said : “ Whence ariseth it, that as the day on which our last festival was celebrated, becometh more distant, our congregations diminish ? But we, who are now met together, must not on that account be rendered negligent.

Savil. VI. f.
722.

They are less in numbers, but not less in zeal. They diminish, that the faithful may be made manifest, and that we may learn to distinguish those, who attend from habit, and those, who come hither from a longing after the Divine Word. On Sunday last the whole city was collected here: the porches were crowded, and the multitude resembled the ebbing and the flowing waves. But to me your stillness is more desirable, than that vast multitude; your repose I esteem more, than that tumult. We had then to number bodies; we have now to number souls, all of which are filled with piety. Were we to weigh in opposite scales this small assembly composed chiefly of the poor, and that crowd, of which the rich formed the greater part, the balance would be in our favor. The theatre inviteth you daily; no one hesitateth to obey the call; no one pleadeth the multitude of his affairs; all hasten thither, as if devoid of any other care. The old man is not deterred by his grey hairs; the young man trembleth not to tempt his passions, so easily inflamed; the rich man thinketh not to disgrace his station. But if there be a question of his going to church, he deliberateth, as if he were called upon to descend from his high estate; *and he demeaneth himself, as if he had conferred a favor upon God.*¹ Where now are those, who were a

¹ Manners and vices were at this time nearly the same throughout all the great cities of the Roman, and especially of the Eastern empire; as may be perceived from a comparison of the discourses held by Chrysostom at Antioch and Constantinople. We will therefore compare with this passage another from a discourse preached by him at Constantinople. Hom. in II Thess. III: "Lo! if a rich lady enter the church, she thinketh not of how she best shall hear the word of God, but how she shall shew herself; how she may sit in pomp and glory; how she shall surpass other women

burden to us on that day? for their presence was a burden. What affairs detain them? But it is not their affairs,—it is their pride. And what can be more irrational? Think ye then to confer a favor upon us, when ye come hither, and hear those things which are necessary to the salvation of your souls.”

He forcibly combatted the confinement of church-communion to the festivals in a discourse preached on the Feast of Pentecost concerning the peculiar spirit of the religious institutions of Christianity: “To appear,” said he, “before God only three times in the year is a Jewish ordinance; for it was thus commanded them. ‘Three times in the year thou shalt appear before the Lord thy God.’ But God desireth, that we, who are Christians, should appear before

Hom. de
Sanct. Pen-
tec. I.

Exodus
XXIII. 17.

in the splendor of her apparel; and render herself more admired by her form, her mien, and the stately bearing of her walk. Her whole mind is turned to whether this or that person behold her? whether she be admired? Am I well adorned? my dress must not be spoiled or rumpled. All her anxiety is directed to such objects. In like manner the rich man cometh to display himself to the poor, and to strike them with awe by the manner of wearing his toga, and the number of his youthful slaves who surround him, making way for him amongst the crowd. He deigneth not in his pride to perform this office himself; he knoweth, that it is an employment beneath a free man, and, though greatly puffed up by his own importance, he cannot bring himself to do it, but deputed it to the slaves, who follow him; for it is clearly a servile office, and requireth rough manners. When seated, the cares of his household distract him on all sides; the vanity, of which his mind is possessed, encircleth him around; he thinketh, by entering this house, to confer a favor upon us and upon the people,—perchance even upon God. How can he ever be healed, who is thus puffed up? I will tell you, if ye desire it, the cause of all these things. They think to come to us, when they come hither; they think to hear from us the things, which they hear. They heed not; they believe not, that they come to God,—that he himself speaketh to them.”

him always. The Jews could not hold more frequent assemblies, because of the great distances many of them had to go; for at that time the worship of God was confined to one place. Wherefore the times of their meeting together were few; for it was needful to worship at Jerusalem, and in nowise elsewhere. For this reason Moses commanded them to appear before God three times in the year, and the distance of the way pleaded for them. But there is no such excuse to plead for us. They were scattered over the whole face of the earth; for it is written, that: 'there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven.' But we all inhabit one city; we dwell together within the same walls; and are oftentimes not separated from the church by one narrow street; and yet we rarely join this holy assembly, as if we were divided from it by wide seas. God hath commanded the Jews to celebrate only three festivals; but he hath commanded us to celebrate a festival always; for with us all times are a festival. To make this manifest, I will mention to you the occasions of the festivals: and ye will perceive, that we have every day a festival. Our first festival is that of the Epiphany.¹ What then is the meaning of this festival? That God 'showed himself upon earth, and conversed with men;' that God, the only begotten of the Father, was with us. But he is with us always; for he saith: 'Lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' Therefore we may every day celebrate the Epiphany. What meaneth the festival of the Passover? and

Acts II. 5.

Baruch III.
38.Matthew
XXVIII.
20.

¹ τα ἐπιφανια, the festival of the appearance or manifestation of Jesus in his divine character, and in his office of Messiah at his baptism by St. John.

what is the subject of it? We proclaim thereby the death of the Lord,—that is the Passover. But our doing this is confined to no time; for Paul desiring to free us from the constraint of any stated period, and to show us that the Passover may be celebrated always, saith: ‘As often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord’s death, till he come.’ Since therefore we can always shew the Lord’s death, we can likewise always celebrate the Passover. Are ye desirous of knowing that the present festival may be celebrated every day,—or rather that it is every day. Let us examine what is its origin? and wherefore we celebrate it? Because the Holy Ghost descended upon us. For as the only begotten Son of God abideth with the faithful: so also doth the Spirit of God; for Christ saith: ‘If ye love me, keep my commandments; and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth.’ Since therefore Christ said concerning himself: ‘I am with you alway even unto the end of the world;’ and we can therefore alway celebrate the Epiphany; in like manner Christ said concerning the Holy Ghost, that he abideth with us for ever; and we can therefore alway celebrate the Feast of Pentecost.” And again: “All times are a festival for the Christian, through the exceeding abundant mercy conferred upon him. For what blessings have not been given to thee? The Son of God hath become man for thy sake; he hath delivered thee from death; he hath called thee unto the kingdom. How then canst thou, who hast received and receivest so many good things, neglect to celebrate thy whole life as a festival? Let no one therefore be cast down on

I Cor. XI.
26.

John XIV.
15—17.

Hom. I. ad
Cor. XV.

account of poverty, or sickness, or persecution ;
for we live in a continual festival.”

Besides the impression which a spot, consecrated exclusively to sacred objects, was calculated to produce, it appears from the passages already cited, that Chrysostom considered the benefit of frequenting the church to consist, partly in the instruction to be derived from portions of the Bible, read aloud in stated succession, at every celebration of divine service, and from the sermon ; partly in the general elevation of the mind to God through prayer and song ; and partly in the giving new life and growth to Christian fellowship : all these three parts appeared to him essential. He recommended, that portions of the Holy Scriptures should be read publicly in the churches,—a custom, to which great importance had been attached from the earliest times of Christianity ; in order that those, who had not the means of purchasing a manuscript copy of the Bible, or who were prevented by their occupations from reading it at home, might, in this manner, arrive at an intimate acquaintance with it. In one of his discourses, he says : “ Were a man to frequent the church diligently, and to listen attentively therein, although he read not the Bible at home, one year would be sufficient to procure him an intimate knowledge of it.” He suffered not the ordinances, which had been handed down to the Church, to remain a dead letter ; but by his vivid illustrations he infused into them new life ; and he availed himself of forms of words at that time used in the Liturgy of the East, to show clearly from them the purport of reading portions of the Bible at divine service. We will here introduce a few passages of similar import from his sermons preached at Constantinople,

Hom. in.
 Joh.
 XXVIII.
 Savil. III.
 f. 796.

that we may not have to recur to the subject. He says: "The mouth through which God speaketh, is the mouth of God. As this our mouth is the mouth of the soul, although the soul hath no mouth: so likewise the mouth of the prophets is the mouth of God. Hear ye, and tremble! The deacon standeth here, and crieth aloud in the name of all: 'Let us attend.'¹ He frequently repeateth it; for his is as the common voice of the Church, and yet no one attendeth. The reader then commenceth the prophecy of Isaiah, still no one attendeth; notwithstanding, prophecy is not of man. Then he crieth aloud, so that all can hear: 'Thus saith the Lord,'² and still no one attendeth." And in another discourse, in which he reproaches his hearers with a deficiency of scriptural knowledge, he says: "Nevertheless the Scriptures are read to you two or three times every week. The reader ascendeth,³ and first saith, by which prophet, apostle, or evangelist, the portion of Scripture, which he is about to read, was written; and he then giveth you the heads of it, that not only the contents, but also the occasion of the writing and the author may be known to you." And in another sermon he says: "When the reader hath risen and said: 'Thus saith the Lord,' the deacon, stepping forward, commandeth every one to be silent; but he doth not this to honor the reader; but to honor him who speaketh through the reader to all. We are servants, my beloved; we speak not our own words, but the words of God. The epistles, which are daily read, came from heaven. Tell me, I pray you, were now, while we are all

Hom. in
Act. Apost.
XIX.

Hom. ad
Heb. VIII.

Hom. in
II Thess. III.

¹ π ροσχωμεν.

² ταδε λεγει κυριος.

³ The *ἀμβων*, or pulpit, a raised place, from which the voice of the preacher may be heard in all parts of the church.

here assembled, a man with a golden girdle¹ to enter, proudly advancing and calling upon every one to give way before him; and were he to declare, that he was sent by an earthly king, and that he brought a letter,² addressed to our whole city upon urgent matters,—would ye not all crowd together? Would ye not without the summons of the deacon maintain the greatest silence? Methinks ye would; *for I have heard letters of the emperor read aloud here.*”

Had Chrysostom's aim in preaching been to obtain the praise of the world, the plaudits lavished upon him would have been gratifying indeed; but his sole desire was to gain an influence over the lives of men. The loud theatrical tokens of applause, which had found their way from the theatre and from the saloons of the declamatory sophists into the church, were regarded by him, as a proof, that his hearers were more pleased with the eloquence of his sermons, than that they applied the truths contained in them to their hearts and lives. Wherefore he said in one of his sermons: “Of what avail to me is this applause and tumult? one thing only I require of you,—that ye prove to me your approbation and obedience by your works. That will be praise for me,—gain for yourselves; that will be to me a greater honor, than the imperial crown.” Again: “Many testify their delight at our discourses by loud tokens of applause, and afterwards hasten to the circus, and bestow still greater applause upon the charioteers.”³ And again: “I desire

Hom. ad
Rom. XV.

Savil V.
175.

Hom. in
Matt. XVII.

¹ ζωνην χρυσην ἔχων, the belt, or cingulum, with the portrait of the emperor, at that time the distinguishing mark of the imperial service, both civil and military.

² Such letters *sacræ*, were read publicly in the churches.

³ ἤνιστοι.

not your applause and clamour. I have but one wish, that ye hear me with calmness and attention, and that ye practise my precepts. For this is not a theatre ; ye sit not here to behold actors, and to confer upon such men your applause. Here is the place to learn the things of God.”

We may here compare with these last extracts a passage from a sermon preached by Chrysostom at Constantinople, in which he declares himself strongly against transferring to the Church the laws of the theatre ; against the delivery of sermons, the object of which is only to please, and to make a rhetorical display ; against passing judgment upon sermons as upon mere pieces of art, according to the beauty of their composition ; and lastly, against all theatrical demonstrations of applause within the walls of a church : “ Many,” he says, “ busy themselves to stand in the midst, and hold a long discourse ; and if they receive the applause of the multitude, they rejoice as much as if they had obtained the kingdom ; but should their discourse be heard in silence, such silence is more dreadful to them than hell. The churches are ruined, because ye seek not to hear discourses, which produce contrition ; but such as delight by the sound, and arrangement of the words, as if ye listened to singers and players upon the harp ; and we are men, so cold-hearted and wretched, that we are subservient to your inclinations, whereas we ought to combat them. We seek for eloquent words, fine composition, and harmony of language, to delight, not to profit you ; to gain admiration, not to instruct you ; to afford you entertainment, not to awaken you to repentance ; to depart hence accompanied by your applause, not to

Hom. in
Act. Ap.
XXX.

form your morals.¹ Believe me,—I say that which I think,—when my discourse is received with applause, human weakness,—for why should I not speak the truth?—overcometh me at the moment, and my heart is gladdened. But when I return home, and reflect, that those, from whom I have received these tokens of applause, have derived no benefit from my sermon, and, could they even have drawn any benefit from it, that they have lost it in giving way to these marks of approbation,—I lament and weep, and feel as though I had spoken every thing in vain. Of what use are my labours, if my hearers will not profit by my words? Often have I thought of forbidding entirely any noisy demonstrations of applause, and of inducing you to listen to me with silence and becoming order. Let us then, I beseech you, from this present moment establish a law among ourselves, that none of the congregation be permitted to interrupt the preacher by such clamour. Doth any one approve the discourse, let him approve in silence; and let all his zeal be directed towards comprehending the things which are taught.” Even at these words his hearers could not refrain,—so perverted had their taste been rendered by the customs of the theatre—from demonstrating their approval by clapping of hands. Chrysostom then added: “Wherefore again this clamour? A moment ago I proclaimed a law against it; but ye cannot endure to listen to me quietly even for one moment. The heathen philosophers declaimed, and no such loud applause attended them. The apostles spoke to

¹ Καλλη λεξεων περιεργαζομεθα και συνθηκας και αζμονιας, οπως ησωμεν, ουχ' οπως αφελησωμεν, οπως θυυμασθωμεν, ουχ' οπως διδαξωμεν, οπως τερψωμεν, ουχ' οπως κατανουξωμεν, οπως κροτηθωμεν και επαινου τυχοντες απελθωμεν, ουχ' οπως τα ηθη ριθμισωμεν.

the multitude, and it nowhere appeareth that they were interrupted in this manner. I rob not those, who value your loud applause, but I would obtain for them a more lasting admiration.¹ Far better is it to listen in stillness, and to prove your approbation by remembering in your houses, or in the market-place, the duties we enjoin, than to lose by your clamour the proffered instruction, and to return home unedified, and without knowing wherefore you have bestowed your applause. Would not a man render himself absurd, and would he not be deemed a flatterer, were he to pronounce that the teacher had spoken well, but to confess himself ignorant of the purport of his discourse? This, indeed, may befall him, who listeneth to a player on the harp, or to an actor, because he may be unable to follow the verses; but here it is different, where the words are lost neither in music nor in the power of the voice, and where every thing dependeth upon truth and strength of thought. Nothing is so becoming to the Church, as tranquillity and order. Noise belongeth to the theatre, the baths, the public processions, and the market-places; but here, in this sacred refuge, where the doctrines of Christianity are taught, silence, peace, and wisdom should prevail. I implore you to reflect on this. I spare no pains to discover the means, by which I may best benefit your souls; and the law, which I would now enforce, appeareth to me conducive both to your advantage and to our own. For then we should not suffer ourselves to be led away from the right path, nor be tempted by a love of praise and honor; we should speak for the sake of profiting your souls,

¹ Οὐκ ἀποστερω τοὺς βουλομένους κροτῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ μάλλον θαυμάζεσθαι ποιῶ.

not for the purpose of affording you entertainment; we should devote our time mainly to the import of our discourse, not to the arrangement of words and the beauty of phrases;¹ and the heathen would no longer upbraid us, and declare, that all our actions proceed from vain-glory and a love of show." Chrysostom justly reproaches both the clergy and their congregations with this passion for display, which from the corrupted world had penetrated into the Church, whence the struggle against such vanity ought to have emanated, and to have diffused itself through all classes of society. The clergy, who were frequently educated in the schools of the rhetoricians, or who had abandoned a worldly career to enter the Church, carried with them into their profession the pernicious taste of the age, and encouraged it among their flocks, by allowing themselves to be made the instruments of an ostentation, which they ought to have combatted and governed in the true spirit of Christianity.²

We have already remarked the various methods employed by Chrysostom to draw the attention

¹ Οὐκ ἀφήσει ἐκτραχηλίζεσθαι, οὐδ' ἐπαιναν καὶ δοξῆς ἔραν, οὐδὲ τα τερποντα λεγεῖν, ἀλλὰ τα ὠφελοντα, οὐδὲ περὶ συνθηκῆς καὶ καλλῆ λέξεων, ἀλλὰ περὶ νοημάτων δυναμῖν πᾶσαν ἀπασχολεῖν τοῦ καιροῦ τὴν ῥόπην.

² Gregory Nazianzen, who was himself by no means exempt from the fault, with which Chrysostom reproaches the preachers of his time, confirms this remark. He says, in a discourse held before the council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, upon taking leave: "The multitude seek not priests, but rhetoricians; and I must say something in their defence. We have thus brought them up, by our desire to become all things to all men; I know not whether for the perdition or salvation of all: Οὐ γὰρ ζητοῦσιν (οἱ πολλοὶ) ἱερεῖς ἀλλὰ ῥητορας. ἀπολογησομαι τε περὶ αὐτῶν. οὕτως ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἐπαιδεύσαμεν, οἱ πασι πάντα γινόμεθα, οὐκ οἶδα ποτερον ἵνα σωσωμεν ταντας, ἢ ἀπώλεσωμεν.

of his hearers to the truths he preached, to render them intelligible, and to impress them strongly upon their hearts. Sometimes he sought to stimulate their minds to spiritual exertion by raising difficulties, which he did not immediately solve, but the removal of which he trusted that his hearers would accomplish by reflecting upon the tenor of his discourse. He illustrated this mode of instruction by a beautiful simile: "Wherefore," said he, "have I raised difficulties, and not at the same time given you a solution of them? Because I would not accustom you always to receive food, which hath been chewed beforehand, and would, that ye sometimes seek the solution yourselves. In like manner the doves nourish their young, as long as they remain in the nest, with their own beaks; but as soon as the mother bird beholdeth their wings set, and can lead them forth from the nest, she no longer feedeth them, but beareth the grain in her beak, and sheweth it unto them. And when the young birds approach, in expectation of receiving the food, the mother letteth it fall upon the ground, and telleth them to gather it themselves." He sought to vary his discourses—at one time rousing the mental energies of his hearers by profound discussions upon doctrine; at another time rendering his instruction more acceptable by a delivery allied to the tone of ordinary conversation. He says: "The mind of the hearers should not be always stretched, for it easily snappeth asunder; neither should it be always slackened, for then, again, it becometh slothful. Wherefore it is needful to vary the forms of instruction—at one time using a more familiar, at another time a more energetic, strain of discourse." He likewise considered himself bound

Tom. III.
p. 103.

Expos. in
Ps. XLI.

to take into consideration the different degrees of ability and education among his audience.

“I know,” said he, “that many disapprove of my slowness of speech; but I heed not their censure. My only aim is your advantage. Let those of the brethren, who can follow quicker, wait for those, who are more slow. The former can well wait for the latter; but the weaker cannot exert themselves beyond their strength, in order to keep up with the stronger. Wherefore Paul saith, that we ought not to force the weak before their time, they not being able to attain to the perfection of the strong; but that we, who are strong, should bear the weaknesses of the feeble. I am careful for your advantage, not for the sake of a vain display; and I therefore pause, and dwell awhile upon the sense.” And again, in the same Homily: “I know that many of my hearers followed not the words of my last discourse; yet I ceased not on that account from boldly explaining the more subtle meanings. That which is plain will benefit the simple, and that which is deep will edify those, whose perception is more acute. The table must be covered with various dishes, because the guests have different tastes.”

Tom. III.
p. 74.

I Cor. VIII.
8, 9.

Not being desirous of imparting to men enthusiasm for his own words, but, as becomes the Christian teacher, making his words the means of leading them to the one heavenly Teacher, that from God himself they might receive light and instruction, Chrysostom strongly censured those, who came into the church to hear his eloquent discourses, and hurried away before the commencement of the prayers.¹

¹ Yet, he says, with respect to long sermons, Tom. II. p. 248: “But since it happeneth, that, in so great a multitude, there are some so weak, that they cannot follow the

Hom. de
Incompreh.
III.

“ Often in that sacred hour,”² he said, “ have I looked around for this vast multitude, which is now assembled here, and listening with such great attention, but found them not; and deeply did I lament, that ye so earnestly and eagerly listened to your fellow-servant, who now addresseth you, thronging each other and remaining to the last, but, when Christ was about to appear in his Holy Supper, that the church should be deserted. Your hurrying away the moment my discourse is ended is a proof, that none of the words addressed to you have been received and treasured up in your hearts; or, fixed in your souls, they would surely have detained you, and led you to receive the holiest of mysteries with increased veneration. But now, when the preacher hath ceased, ye depart without benefit, as if ye had listened to a player upon the harp. And what is the cold excuse of the many? We can pray, say they, at home; but we cannot there receive instruction and hear the sermon. Ye err;—ye can truly pray at home, but not as ye can pray in the church, where so great a number of the fathers are met together, and where so many voices unite to raise a prayer to God. Ye find here what ye cannot find at home—the harmony of souls, the accord of voices, the bond of love, the prayers of the priests; for therefore do the priests preside, that the feeble prayers of the multitude, borne aloft by their more powerful petitions, may reach together unto heaven. And what advantageth the sermon, if

discourse in its whole length, I advise them, as soon as they have heard as much instruction as they are able to receive, to depart. No one compelleth them to remain longer than their strength supporteth them.”

¹ The celebration of the Supper of the Lord.

it be not joined with prayer? First, prayer; then, the word. Thus say the apostles: 'We will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.' And thus did Paul commence his epistles with prayer, that he might enkindle with the sparks of prayer the fire of speech.¹ If ye accustom yourselves to pray with a proper earnestness, ye will not need the instruction of your fellow-servant, *but God himself will enlighten your minds without a mediator.*" In another sermon, he says, that the consciousness of being beloved by so great a community inspired him with much confidence, because on that account he felt sure of their intercession. The worth of this intercession might be seen in the instance of the apostle Paul, since that great apostle declared, that he needed the intercession of his disciples. He then comments upon the powerful influence of a common prayer. He said not this on his own account, but to stimulate their zeal for a communion in the prayers of the Church. To the objection: Can I not pray at home? he answered: "That, indeed, thou canst; but prayer hath not so great a power, as when it is offered up in communion with thy brethren; when the whole body of the congregation, out of one heart and with one voice, poureth forth the request, in the presence of the priests, who bear aloft the common prayers of the multitude."² We will

Acts VI. 4.

Hom. de
Prophet.
Obscuritat.
II.Rom. XV.
30, 31, and
Ephes. VI.
19.

¹ ἰν ὡσπερ λυχνου φῶς, οὕτω το τῆς εὐχῆς φῶς προσδοποιησῆ τῶ λογῶ.

² These last words are certainly connected with the false idea of a particular priesthood in the Church; they might, however, in some degree, have a pure evangelical signification, if we consider them as having reference to the preacher, who, as the organ of Christ and of the congregation, declares in the name and with the knowledge of the latter, feelings, in which all hearts participate.

Hom. ad II.
Thes. III.

compare with this extract a passage from one of his sermons preached at Constantinople, in which he expresses himself yet stronger upon this point. He answered those, who inquired: Wherefore should we go to church, if we can hear no preacher there?—"This delusion is your destruction. Wherefore do we need a preacher? The necessity hath arisen from our own negligence. For what need have we of a sermon? In the Holy Scriptures all is clear and plain; *every thing necessary is therein manifest*. But because ye are listeners, seeking entertainment, ye long so much for the sermon."¹

Hom. ad
II. Cor. II.

He attached great value to the prayers of the old Antiochian liturgy, drawn from the depths of Christian experience, and clothed for the most part in biblical language; and he frequently drew the attention of his congregation to them in his sermons. We have already remarked the fruitful manner, in which he availed himself of these prayers, and applied them; and we will further illustrate this by a few examples. One of his Homilies was solely devoted to an explanation of the beautiful church prayer for the catechumens, and he availed himself of it to shew in what consisted a fit preparation for baptism, and a lively faith.² He was often compelled to remark, how many listened mechanically to these beautiful forms of liturgy, scarcely conscious of their import, and to notice that deficiency of piety, which

¹ τις γὰρ χρεία ὁμιλητοῦ; ἀπο τῆς ἡμετέρας βραθυμίας αὕτη ἡ χρεία γεγυνε. διὰ τι γὰρ οὐκίλιας χρεία; πάντα σαφῆ καὶ ἐνθεα τὰ παρὰ ταις θειαῖς γραφαῖς πάντα τὰ ἀναγκαῖα δηλὰ, ἀλλ' ἐπει τερψέως ἔστε ἀκροαταί, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ταῦτα ζῆτετε.

² There is an extract from this discourse in the Appendix to this period.

betrayed itself in their pressing against each other during the prayers of the church, and during the celebration of the Holy Communion, that they might depart earlier without waiting for the termination of the prayers and the solemn dismissal of the congregation.¹ He frequently delivered strong censures upon this conduct. On one occasion, he said: "Hear these words² of Christ, ye, who have again departed before the last prayer offered up after the celebration of the Holy Communion: Christ gave thanks to God before he distributed the supper among his disciples, that we also might give thanks;³ and after he had distributed it among them, he sung a hymn to the praise of God, that we likewise might do the same." And on the festival of the Holy Epiphany, he says: "Let us, then, to-day, endeavour to correct a sin openly committed by all. Would ye know what that sin is? It is the not approaching the Lord's table with fear and trembling, but stamping, striking, swelling with wrath, screaming, insulting, and pushing those near to you, full of passion and turbulence. Tell me, why are ye thus tumultuous? Wherefore hasten ye? Doth business summon you? Can ye think, in that hour, of worldly affairs? Can ye then remember, that ye are upon earth—deem yourselves dwelling among men? Doth it not betray a heart of stone, to recollect in that moment that ye are standing upon earth, and not amid the choirs of angels, with whom ye

Hom. in
Matt.
XXXII.

Tom. II.
p. 347.

¹ By the words of the deacon, "Depart in peace," ἀπολυσθε ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

² Matt. xxvi. 26—31.

³ The general thanksgiving for the gifts of nature and of grace, which preceded the communion.

have resounded aloft that Holy Hymn?¹ with whom ye have chaunted that Song of Triumph unto God?² Shall I tell you whence this disorder and noise proceed? Because we do not close the doors during the whole time of divine service, but permit you, before the last prayer of thanksgiving is offered up, to rise suddenly, and depart home. This, of itself, is an act of great contempt. While Christ is present, while the angels are standing around, while that holy table is spread before you, while your brethren are yet partaking of the Holy Supper,—ye hasten away. Were ye invited to a feast, though your own hunger were appeased, ye would not venture to absent yourselves, so long as the other guests are reclining at the table.” He likewise exhorted them to join with devotion in these prayers of the Church; and, according to his custom, he sought, by using the forms of the Liturgy, to impress his exhortations deeper upon their minds: “Even the words,” he said, “of the Deacon, calling upon all: ‘*Let us stand up, as it beseemeth us,*’³ are not introduced without a meaning, but that we should raise our grovelling thoughts, and, throwing off the fetters of earthly cares, raise our souls to God. That this is signified—that these words regard not the body, but the soul, we may learn from Paul, who in like manner useth this mode of speech; for, writing to fallen and desponding men, he saith: ‘Wherefore lift up the hands which hang down, and the feeble knees.’ What then? Shall we say, that he speaketh of the

Hom. de
Incompreh.
IV.

Heb. XII.
12.

¹ Το μυστικὸν ἔκεινο μέλος, the thrice Holy of Isaiah VI. 3, made into a hymn of the Church.

² ὠδὴ ἐπινικίος, the song of the three men in the burning fiery furnace. Dan. III.

³ ὀρθοὶ στῶμεν καλῶς.

hands and knees of the body? Certainly not; for he addresseth not runners, nor pugilists; but he exhorteth them by these words to raise the power of their souls, laid prostrate by temptations. Consider near whom thou standest,—that with the Cherubim themselves thou art about to call upon God. Examine the assembled choir, and it will suffice to excite thy watchfulness; when thou thinkest, that bearing about with thee a body, and held together by flesh, thou art deemed worthy of singing hymns to the common Lord of all, in company with the spiritual powers. Let no one, then, with a faint heart take part in these sacred hymns; let no one in that season entertain a worldly thought; but, having banished all earthly things from his mind, and transferred himself entirely to heaven, as if standing near the very throne of glory, and flying amid the Seraphim, let him send forth that holiest of hymns to the God of glory and power. Therefore are we then called upon to stand erect, as it beseemeth us; for this signifieth nothing more, than to stand so, as it becometh man to stand before God, with fear and trembling, with a watchful and a sober mind.” And in another sermon: “Oh, man! what art thou doing? Hast thou not pledged thyself to the priest, when he said to thee,¹ ‘*Let us raise our mind and hearts above,*’² and thou didst answer,³ ‘*We have raised them to the Lord*’?⁴ Fearest thou not, and art thou not ashamed, in that awful hour to be found a liar?”

Tom. II.
p. 349.

In his exposition of the 41st Psalm, he thus

¹ The calling upon the congregation, which preceded the celebration of the Supper of the Lord.

² ἀνω σχωμεν ἡμῶν τον νουν και τας καρδιας.

³ The answer of the whole congregation.

⁴ ἐχομεν προς τον κυριον.

Expos. in
Ps. XLI.

Epis. V. 18,
19.

speaks on the salutary influence of vocal music in the churches: "Nothing so lifteth up, and, as it were, wingeth the soul, so freeth it from earth, and looseth it from the chains of the body, so leadeth it unto wisdom, and a contempt of all earthly things, as the choral symphony of a sacred hymn, set in harmonious measure. Our nature delighteth so much in song, and so accordeth with it, that infants at the breast, when fretful or sobbing, are thereby lulled asleep." After having endeavoured to shew, by various examples, that when the soul is under the influence of song, men are better enabled to endure exertion and labor, he continued: "The singing of psalms bringeth with it much gain, support, and sanctification, and can supply various lessons of wisdom, if the words purify the heart, and the Holy Ghost straightways descend upon the soul of the singer. For we learn from Paul, that those, who sing with understanding, call down upon them the grace of the Holy Spirit. He saith: 'Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit;' and he addeth thereunto the manner, in which we are to be filled with the Holy Spirit: 'By singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord.' What signify these words, 'In your heart'? He would say with understanding, that the mouth utter not the words, while the soul wandereth everywhere abroad; but that the soul be conscious of that, which the tongue speaketh." Again, in the same discourse: "Let us not, then, without due thought, enter here, and carelessly sing the responses; but let us bear them hence, as a staff for the rest of our days. Each verse may impart to us wisdom, correct our doctrines, and afford us the greatest aid in life; and if we nicely search each saying,

we shall gather therefrom rich fruit. No one can, in this instance, allege the excuse of poverty, business, or want of understanding ; for shouldst thou be poor, and because of thy poverty possess no Bible, or shouldst thou possess one, and not have the time to read therein, thou needest only to keep in thy heart the responses thou hast so often chaunted here, and thou wilt draw from them a great consolation.”

But Chrysostom considered the external forms of divine service solely as the instruments, by which men were to be led to a sense of the Christian worship in spirit and in truth. Too frequently was he called upon to remark, that these means failed in the attainment of their object, and that church attendance became a mere mechanical performance, discovering itself in a want of devotion and quiet, which he was often called upon to censure.¹

¹ Chrysostom frequently complains of the inattention and want of piety in the men who, while they were in the church, could not dismiss their worldly affairs from their minds. Hom. in Oziām. I. : “ A severe disease pervadeth the Church. Those, who come hither to hold converse with God, and send aloft to him their praise, forgetting the purpose of their coming, take aside their neighbours, settle with them their household concerns, and talk together of the things, which have come to pass in the forum, among the people, in the theatres, and with the army ; in what manner some affairs are administered, others neglected ; how one suit hath been gained, another lost : in short, concerning all public and private occurrences. Ought such conduct to be pardoned ? Were any one to converse with an earthly king, he would only make mention of the things, which were agreeable to him, or concerning which he was questioned ; and if he dared to introduce any subject disagreeable to the king, he would expose himself to the severest punishment. But ye, holding converse with the King of Kings, whom the angels serve with trembling, lay aside your discourse with him, to talk of mire, and dust, and spiders’ webs ; for such are the things of time. And how will ye be able to endure

Hom. in
Matt. XI.

He therefore many times reprov'd the frequent illusion of those, who, in a diligent attendance at church, believed that they had done enough for religion. Thus he says: "We assemble you thus often here, not for the mere sake of your coming, but that ye may gather fruit from your resort hither. But if ye always draw near, and depart without any edification, your coming and assembling here will be of no avail. When ye have sung the responses of two or three psalms, and have repeated the ordinary prayers in a careless manner, ye disperse yourselves, and believe this to be sufficient

the punishment, which your contemptuous demeanour meriteth? Who will deliver you from the vengeance of the Lord? Ye answer me, that the public affairs are in a bad state; that ye talk and dispute much about them. And wherefore are they in a bad state? From the inconsiderateness of our rulers, or our own iniquity, and the punishment thereby incurred? It is our own iniquity, which hath turned all things upside down; it is that which hath brought on all our misfortunes, armed our enemies, and occasioned our defeats. Hence, and hence alone, hath proceeded this swarm of evils. And though Abraham, though Moses, though David, though Solomon, the wisest of men, or any the most just of men, were our ruler, yet, if we continued in our sins, the same cause of our evils would remain. For if we had for a ruler the greatest violator of the laws, the most unwise and imprudent prince, if we lived wickedly, such a one would have been given unto us as the fruit of our folly, and the punishment of our sins. Knowing, then, these things, let us regard the evils, which are come upon us, as brought on by our own sins; and, daily inquiring into them, let us reproach ourselves, and not others, with being the cause of our misfortunes." He complains particularly of the talking of the women in the churches. Hom. I. Tim. IX.: "They are all so busied in conversing upon foolish things, as if they were only come here for their amusement." He also alludes to the noisy conduct of the young men, in a sermon preached at Constantinople. Hom. Act. Apost. XXIV. The office of deacon was therefore very necessary to maintain order in the church. Refer to this sermon.

to your salvation. Have ye not heard what the prophet speaketh, or rather what God speaketh through the prophet? ‘This people with their lips do honour me, but have removed their heart far from me.’ Chrysostom well knew, as he beautifully expresses himself, that the divine worship of the Christians is not confined to wood and fire, to the altar and the knife; but that with them the Spirit is every thing.¹

Isa. XXIX.
13.

In like manner he forcibly declares himself against placing any trust in the *opus operatum* of attendance at church: “All flock to the church, for the mere sake of gazing around them; but this is not the thing required. We demand works and a pure mind.² If thou have consumed the whole day in covetousness, and then go to the church and repeat a few words, thou not only hast not propitiated God, but thou hast the more incensed him. If thou wilt reconcile thyself to thy Lord, prove it by thy works. Learn the amount of human misery; behold the naked, the hungry, and the oppressed. God hath opened to thee a thousand ways of shewing thy love to man.”

Hom. in
Joann.
LXXXII.

The following beautiful passage on this subject is to be found in one of his sermons preached at Constantinople: “It standeth very ill with the affairs of the Church, although ye deem them to be blessed with peace. The evil is, that though we suffer from many ills, we are not conscious that we suffer. What say ye? We are in possession of the churches, the church property, and all things belonging thereto; divine service is performed, the people daily

Hom. in
Act. Apost.
XXIX.

¹ Οὐ γὰρ ζυλα καὶ πυρ οὐδὲ βωμος καὶ μαχαίρα, ἀλλὰ πνεῦμα πάντα παρ’ ἡμῖν. Hom. ad Rom. xxix.

² Τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μόνου ἰδεῖν ἐνοχλοῦσιν ἀπαντες. Το δε ζητούμενον ὅν τοῦτο ἐστίν, ἀλλὰ ἐργῶν δεῖ ἡμῖν καὶ διανοίας καθαρᾶς.

frequent the church, and ye are satisfied. But let no man judge hence the condition of the Church. Do ye ask, then, whence shall it be known? By the piety to be found therein; by our returning home each day with gain, having gathered fruit, be it much or be it little; and by our not having frequented the church merely to fulfil an ancient law, and for the sake of appearance.¹ Which of us hath become amended by having attended divine service during a whole month? This is the question. The very circumstance, which would appear to argue for a happy state of the Church, proveth its ill condition; for we attend the church, but derive therefrom no gain. Would, indeed, that this were all; but there is something worse. What fruit reap ye from attendance here? Had ye derived benefit from it, ye would already have led true Christian lives; since so many prophets speak to you twice in the week, so many apostles and evangelists,—since all these set before you the doctrines of salvation, and instruct you fully in those things, which are able to renew your minds. The soldier, who frequenteth the gymnasium, becometh more skilled in the affairs of war; the wrestler, who exerciseth himself in the palæstra, becometh more dextrous in wrestling; the medical student, who visiteth his teacher, becometh more expert, and increaseth his knowledge. What have ye gained? I inquire not of those, who have only become members of the Church within the last year, but of those who have assisted at divine service from their earliest childhood. Do ye suppose that piety consisteth in a constant attendance at church? If we bring no fruit thence, it were

¹ Εἰ μὴ νομον ἀπλῶς πληρουντες καὶ ἀφοσιουμενοι.

better to have remained at home. Our fathers built not the church for us, that we should come forth from our private dwellings to assemble and exhibit ourselves therein; for this might have equally occurred in the forum, or in the baths, or in the public processions;—but they built it that those who teach, and those who learn, should meet together, and that the instructed should be amended by the instructors. Our duties have degenerated into a habit, adopted solely for the sake of appearance. The Easter festival arriveth, great tumult prevaileth, great crowds assemble, much disorder reigneth in the church. I will not say, that many men are there present; for they do not deserve the name of men. The festival is over, the tumult abateth, and an unavailing repose succeedeth. How many nightly vigils do we keep? and how many sacred songs do we pour forth? and what is the result? Better had they never been. Many are even led by vanity to the performance of these sacred duties. Think ye how my bowels yearn, when I behold all my labor lost? *Ye indeed reply, We know the Scriptures. What then? Your gain, your advantage will be to prove this knowledge by your works.* Perhaps ye will say, We pray. But how will prayer advantage you, without the aid of works? Hear what Christ saith: ‘Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; but he that doeth the will of my Father, which is in heaven.’

Matt. VII.
21.

To the *opus operatum* of church attendance belonged the washing of hands, either at the moment of entering the church, or immediately preceding; to which custom a supernatural

¹ Πάννυχιδες, pervigilia.

Hom. in
Joann.
LXXXIII.

power of sanctification appears to have been ascribed. Chrysostom spoke thus forcibly against this superstition: "We wash our hands when we enter the church, but we wash not our hearts. And yet the hands emit not the voice; it is the soul, which sendeth forth the words; it is the soul, which God regardeth. To pray with unwashed hands is of little moment; but to pray with an unwashed soul is of all evils the worst." Again: "There are some, who having committed a thousand sins in the course of the day, bathe themselves in the evening; then enter the church, and lift up their hands with confidence, as if by this external purification of water they had thrown off all uncleanness. Were this the case, it would be a great gain to bathe daily. Could the bath cleanse men, and free them from sin, I would never cease to enjoin you to partake of it. But this is an absurdity, a madness, the sport and delusion of a child. God abhorreth not the impurity of the body, but the uncleanness of the soul." Again: "Let us, therefore learn what it is, which defileth a man: let us learn and avoid it; for even in the church we see this custom prevail with many. They are careful to enter with cleansed garments, and with washed hands; but they take no account to present a pure soul before God."

Hom. in
II Tim. 6.

Hom. in
Matt. LI.

Hom. in
I Cor.
XXXVI.

In a beautiful comparison between the Church of his day and the early Apostolical Church, Chrysostom thus averts to the Holy Spirit, as the animating principle of the whole Christian community, without which all ritual ceremonies lose their efficacy: "In those days the Church was heaven itself; for the Holy Spirit ruled every counsel, quickened and hallowed every member of the Church. We only now retain

the traces of these gifts of grace. The Church is like unto a woman fallen from her ancient prosperity, who possesseth various signs of her former wealth, and who displayeth the little chests and caskets, in which her treasure was preserved, but hath lost the treasure itself: to such a woman may the Church now be likened. I say not this with reference to the miraculous gifts; for were that all, it would not be of moment: but I allude to your fallen and sinful lives. In former days, all met together, and sung psalms with one accord. We still follow the same custom. But then one heart, one soul, pervaded all: now such harmony is not to be found in a single breast, and discord is universal; now, likewise, the bishop, entering the church, saith peace to all, like a father returning to his family; but, while we everywhere hear the name of peace, peace hath departed from us."

Chrysostom perceived, that by a constant attendance at divine worship, little was in reality to be effected for the cause of Christianity, unless all Christians considered the advancement of the kingdom of God to be their own and most important concern; unless the spirit of Christianity penetrated into the bosoms of families, and extended its hallowed influence over the daily lives and conversations of men. To this point he directed his special attention; and recalling into existence the idea of a common Christian priesthood, he combatted the false distinction which had been drawn between the clergy and the laity. Having called upon the members of his congregation to aid their spiritual pastors by working together with them, he says: "Now that ye know the greatness of our labor, assist us with your prayers, your zeal,

your earnest desire, your love. Laymen and ministers, let us imitate pastors, such as were Paul, Peter, and Moses; for each member of the community may become a pastor to his household, to his friends, to his servants, to his wife, and to his children." Again: "Let no one say, I am a layman, I have no ministry to perform. Though a layman, with one talent only entrusted to thy charge, labor with the entrusted talent, and thou shalt receive an equal reward with the appointed teacher." He frequently exhorted them to practise family devotion: "Let us, my beloved," he said, "keep all these things in our minds; and when we return home, let us make ready a twofold table, for bodily as well as spiritual food. Let the husband repeat to his wife the things which have been spoken in the church; let the wife learn, let the children attend, and let not the servants be forbidden from listening. Make thine house to be a church; for thou wilt have to answer for the salvation of thy children and thy servants. As we have an account to render up of you, so will each of you have an account to render up of your servants, wife, and children."

Sermo in
Gen. VII.

Sermo in
Gen. VI.

Hom. in
Ps. XLI.

Being desirous of rendering psalmody prevalent in families, he said: "As wheresoever the mire is, there will the swine flock; but wheresoever sweet odours and incense are, there will the bees resort. In like manner, wheresoever ungodly songs are sung, there will the devils be gathered together; and wheresoever spiritual songs are sung, there will the grace of the Spirit fly, and sanctify both mouth and soul. I say these things not only that ye yourselves may give praise, but that ye may teach both your wives and children to sing such songs, not only when they work at the loom, or are engaged in

other labors, but especially at meat ; for since at feasts the evil one lieth in wait exceedingly, and availeth himself of drunkenness, gluttony, immoderate laughter, and licentiousness, to ensnare souls, we stand peculiarly in need of psalms, for our defence, both before and after the repast. Let us, with our wives and children, arise and say, 'Thou, Lord, hast made me glad through thy works ; I will triumph in the works of thy hands.' Let the psalm be followed by prayer, that our own souls and those of our household may be sanctified ; for as they, who bring buffoons, dancers, and unchaste women to their feasts, open their doors to evil spirits and the devil, and fill their houses with manifold strife ; so, on the other hand, do those, who invite David with his harp, through him call Christ into their dwellings ; and where Christ is, there no evil spirit dareth to approach, or even cast a look. Thence will flow, as from a never-failing fountain, peace, and love, and fulness of blessings. These profaners make their house a theatre ; make thou thine a church ; for a company of souls, who love God, joined together in holy song and prayer, may well be called a church."¹

Ps. XCII.

Chrysostom earnestly endeavored to promote

¹ We will here cite some beautiful passages, relative to this subject, from the sermons of Chrysostom preached at Constantinople. Hom. in Hebr. XXX. : "Throw not every thing upon your teachers, and those who are set over you ; for the apostle commandeth us to instruct one another, saying, 'Comfort yourselves together, and edify one another, even as also ye do.' 1 Thess. v. 11. Such is likewise our counsel unto you. If ye be willing, ye are more able to do good to one another, than we are able to do for you ; for ye have lived together a longer time. Ye better know each other's affairs ; ye are not ignorant of each other's faults ; ye have greater boldness and love, and are more accustomed to each other. These are no small advantages for teaching, but great and favourable means of finding an

an intimate acquaintance with the Bible among the laity. He was well aware, that the Scriptures were the surest means of connecting the cause of religion with the feelings of the heart, and of diffusing a pure and practical knowledge

entrance into souls. Ye can rebuke and exhort better, than ourselves; and not only that, I am but one, and ye are many; and as many of you, as there be, are able to be teachers. Wherefore, I beseech you, neglect not this gift of grace. Each hath a wife, a friend, a servant, a neighbour. Rebuke and exhort them; for is it not foolish to make feasts ready, to fix a certain day on which to meet together, and, by the union of many, to supply the wants of the individual, whether for a burial, or for a banquet, or for any aid whatsoever to our neighbour,—but not to act thus in the teaching of holiness? Neglect not this, I beseech you; for ye shall thereby receive great reward from God. Think not that he, to whom five talents were given, is the teacher; and that he, to whom one was given, is the disciple. If thou say: I am a disciple, I am in no danger. If thou hide and make to be unfruitful the gift of teaching, which thou hast received from God, and neither admonish nor speak openly, nor reprove, nor counsel, where thou art able; but bury in the earth such gift (for of a truth that heart is dust and ashes which burieth such gift of God); or if thou hide it through sloth, or through evil-mindedness, it will avail thee nothing to say, that thou hast received but one talent.” He then further shews, how each man should seek to improve his neighbour: “If thy friend see a fault in thee, ask his assistance to correct it; for he will bring down a reproof upon himself, if he see thee in need of reproof, and correct thee not, not only as a teacher, but as a friend and a brother. This is friendship; and one brother, supported by another, becometh as it were a strong city. Prov. xviii. 10. For it is not eating nor drinking, which maketh friendship; for such have robbers and murderers.” The quotation from the Proverbs is according to the Septuagint, which in this instance does not agree with the Hebrew. Again, Hom. in Act. Apost. XXVI.: “Every house with a family is a church; nor think it otherwise, if there be only the husband and the wife therein; for ‘where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.’ Matt. xviii. 20. Where Christ is in the midst, there is a mighty host; for where he is, the angels, and archangels, and the other powers, must be likewise. Ye are not then alone, if ye have the Lord.”

of Christianity. He believed, that Christians ought to be deeply instructed in their religion; that they ought to receive in a direct manner from the divine word the enlightening of the divine spirit; and that they ought to be capable of deriving their conviction from the living source of the Bible, and of rendering thence an account of the faith, which they profess. Thus he says: “It is strange, that every physician is able to give an exact account of his art; the tanner, the weaver, and every artizan of his trade; but that he, who calleth himself a Christian, can render no account of his faith. Hence ariseth, that we are not more successful in persuading the heathen at once to renounce his errors. For if he, the advocate of a lie, spareth nothing to conceal the baseness of his doctrines; but we, the servants of truth, are unable to open our mouths,—will he not accuse the weakness of our doctrines? Will he not suspect our cause to be craft and foolishness? Will he not blaspheme Christ as a deceiver, as one, who hath abused the ignorance of the multitude to their own delusion. We are guilty of this blasphemy, because we are not willing to heed the knowledge necessary to be learnt for the defence of our religion; but set aside these things as superfluous; and are careful for the things of this world.” Having complained, that the study of the Bible was neglected, he said: “Hence we lead ungodly lives; hence we are powerless in the struggle for truth, and become the laughing-stock of Gentile, Jew, and Heretic.” Again: “If ye searched the Scriptures, and daily exercised yourselves unto the fight, I would not exhort you to shun a contest with the heathen; but rather would I counsel you to enter into the strife: for great is the power

Hom. in
Joann.
XVI.

Hom. in
Joann.
XXX.

Hom. in
Joann.
LXVI.

of truth. But because ye know not how to wield the Scriptures, I fear the conflict, lest ye be vanquished, being thus unarmed; for none are so weak as those, who are without the aid of the Holy Spirit.”

Chrysostom had not derived his opinions upon points of doctrine from the secret traditions of the church, but from a study of the Bible. From his youth upwards his life and Christian views had been formed and matured by the reading of Holy Writ; and he was far from making the exposition of the inspired writings subordinate to the traditions of the Church. He considered the Scripture to be a direct and independent source of knowledge, fully sufficient of itself to determine the truths of our faith; and to this living fountain he alone referred. When therefore the heathen¹ were wont to answer those, who sought to bring them over to Christianity: “We would become Christians, but we know not whom to follow; for among you there is much strife, discord, and tumult. Which doctrine should we prefer? Each one saith, that he speaketh truth. Whom shall we believe, knowing nothing of the Scriptures? Chrysostom replied: “If we professed to follow human reason, ye might indeed be disquieted; but since we declare, that our faith is drawn from the Scriptures, and they are plain and true, ye may easily discover the truth. He, whose belief accordeth with the Bible, is a Christian; but he, who is at variance with it, is far removed from true Christianity.”² Chryso-

Hom. in
Act. Apost.
XXXIII.

¹ As was the case in the time of Clemens of Alexandria. See *Stromat. Lib. VII. f. 753. ed. Paris. 1641.*

² *Εἰ μὲν γὰρ λογισμοῖς ἐλεγόμεν πειθεσθαι, εἰκοτῶς ἔθορυβον, εἰ δὲ ταῖς γραφαῖς ἐλεγόμεν πειθεσθαι αὐταὶ δὲ ἀπλαὶ καὶ ἀληθεῖς, εὐκόλον σοὶ τὸ κρίνομενον. Εἰ τις ἐκείναις συμφωνεῖ, οὗτος χριστιανός· εἰ τις μαχεται οὗτος πῶρῳ τὸν κανὼς τούτου.*

tom then alludes to another objection of the heathen: "What shall we do," they said, "if one Christian come and assert, that a peculiar doctrine is to be found in a certain passage of the Bible, and another Christian ascribe a different meaning to the same passage,—the sense of the Scripture being on either side strained by your interpretations?" Instead of answering the heathen as Augustine would have done, by referring them to the authority and tradition of the Church, in order to determine the true sense of Scripture, Chrysostom called upon them to examine the Bible freely, and thence to draw their own conclusion: "Tell me then," he said, "hast thou neither understanding nor judgment of thine own?"

Chrysostom both publicly in his sermons, and in his private exhortations, constantly admonished the members of his congregation to read diligently the Holy Scriptures. In order to stimulate them to the performance of this duty, he frequently gave out in one discourse the biblical text, which he intended to explain in his next; and called upon his hearers to read and consider the passage he had selected. For the same object he would at times pause, while expounding a difficult part of the Bible; and postpone his farther explanation of it, until his next discourse, trusting that his hearers would in the mean time refer to the Bible, and reflect upon the passage. He offered to the members of his flock, if they understood not his exposition of the Bible, and were desirous of consulting him in his own house, to render it clearer to them in private conversation.¹

There were some, who, instead of inquiring

¹ Hom. in Rom. XIV. "ἐξέστι και ἰδία συντυχοντας ἐρωτησαι και μαθειν.

into the contents of the Bible, made the sacred volume itself an object of superstition and idolatry. Women were accustomed to hang the gospels, as amulets, around their necks, and the necks of their children.¹ Others were accustomed to suspend them near their beds, as a species of charm.² Against this idolatry, Chrysostom thus inveighs: "Behold, how the women and little children hang the gospels, as a sure defence, around their necks, and carry them whithersoever they go. Do thou engrave the doctrines and laws of the gospel upon thy mind. Thou needest neither gold nor silver, nor to buy a book; thou requirest only thine own free will, and the desire of an awakened soul, and thou shalt possess the gospel more securely, though thou bear it not outwardly about thy person, having deposited its sacred precepts in thine inmost soul."

Hom. in
Pop. Anti-
och. XIX.

Among the rich and great were to be found many, who made a display with splendidly inscribed bibles,³ but so much the less concern-

¹ Vide Hom. in Matth. LXXII. In a similar manner, leaves, upon which are written passages extracted from the Koran, are used as amulets among the Mahomedan nations in Asia and Africa. Compare Jerom. in Matth. XXIII. 5: "non intelligentibus Pharisæis, quod hæc in corde portanda sunt, non in corpore: alioquin et armaria et arcæ habent liberos et notitiam Dei non habent. Hoc apud non superstiosæ mulierculæ in parvulis evangeliiis, et in cruceo ligno, et istiusmodi rebus (qui habent quidem zelum Dei, sed non juxta scientiam) usque hodie factitant, culicem liquantes et camelum glutientes."

² Chrysostom alludes to this, when he says, Hom. in I. Corinth. XLIII. "To lay alms beside thy bed, is much the same, as if thou hung up there a book of the gospels; for if thou merely hang up the book, without using it, it cannot much avail thee."

³ Concerning the splendor, with which the manuscripts of the Bible were decorated, St. Jerome says, Præfat in libr. Job. (ep. 113, according to the old editions): "Habeant, qui

ed themselves about their contents. On this subject Chrysostom thus beautifully expresses himself: "Say which of you, when he is at home, taketh in his hands a Christian book, and examineth the contents thereof, or searcheth the Scriptures? Not one of you can say, that he doeth these things. We find most men possessed of dice, but none or few possessed of bibles, and with those few it is, as if they possessed them not; for they suffer them to remain tied up within their chests, and waste all their care upon the smoothness of the skin and the beauty of the characters;—but they read them not. They have not acquired them for the benefit of their souls, but in an eagerness to make a vain display of their wealth. Such is the arrogance of pride. I hear no one boast, that he hath a knowledge of the Scriptures, but that he owneth a Bible written in golden characters. And tell me then, what profiteth this? The Holy Scriptures were not given to us, that we should enclose them in books, but that we should engrave them upon our hearts; for it were a Jewish conceit to suppose, that any good can come from the mere possession of the commands of God, written in a book. To us, from the first, the law was not thus given, but was inscribed upon the *fleshy tablets of the heart.*" He likewise endeavored to refute the various pretexts, with which the rich and the poor sought to evade his exhortations to read the Bible. When the rich excused themselves on account of the weight of their public and private

Hom. in
Joann.
XXXII.

volunt, veteres libros vel in membranis purpureis auro argenteoque descriptos, vel uncialibus, ut vulgo aiunt, literis operamagis exarata quam codices, dummodo mihi meisque permittant pauperes habere schedulas, et non tam pulchros codices, quam emendatos."

Hom. in
Joann. IX.

business, he replied to them: "Your being surrounded by so great a crowd of affairs, and so much engrossed by worldly concerns, that ye cannot even reserve a little leisure for things more needful than all others, is no slight charge against you. The meetings of yourselves and friends, your long stay in the theatres, and your sittings in the circus to view the horse-races, in which ye often consume entire days, and wherein business is never pleaded as a cause of absence, testify that this is a mere pretext." When, on the other hand, the poor excused themselves upon the plea of having no Bibles, he answered them: "Have ye not all the implements of your trades good and perfect? Is it not then foolish to abstain from the plea of poverty in that case, and in this, wherein ye *are about to reap so great an advantage*, to lament your poverty and your engagements?"

Concio in
Lazar. III.

Another common excuse, by which the laity were wont to elude the command to search the Scriptures, was, that this duty belonged only to the clergy and monks. Chrysostom, endeavoring to refute this excuse, says: "Let no one speak to me these cold and reprehensible words: I am detained in the court of justice; I have to manage the affairs of the city; I have to follow my trade; I have a wife and children to support; I must overlook my household; I am a man of the world,—it is not my office to read the Holy Scriptures; but it is that of those, who have renounced the world, who have taken possession of the tops of the mountains, and devoted themselves to a holy life. What say ye? Is it not your business to attend to the Scriptures, because ye are torn by a thousand cares? On that very account, it is a duty more needful for you, than for them. For they

do not need so much the aid of the Scriptures, as those, who are tossed about in the midst of worldly affairs; for the monks, who have fixed their cells in the wilderness, far from the forum and its tumultuous strife; who hold no converse with men, but fearlessly worship God in the calm of a lonely life, enjoy a security as great, as if they reposed within a haven. But we, who are driven up and down, as it were, in the midst of the ocean, and are urged to the commission of a thousand sins, ever need the constant and unceasing consolations of the Scriptures. They dwell far from the conflict, therefore they receive not many wounds; but ye ever stand in the ranks, and receive constantly new wounds. Wherefore ye are in greater need of healing remedies. A wife offendeth you; a son grieveth you; a servant enrageth you; an enemy plotteth against you; a friend envieth you; a neighbour persecuteth you; a comrade supplanteth you: the judge threateneth you; poverty humbleth you; the loss of kindred worketh in you grief; success puffeth you up; misery bringeth you low. Manifold are the occasions and needs of wrath, of care, of despair, and grief; of vain glory and pride; which on all sides encompass us; and innumerable are the darts, which assail us from every quarter,—wherefore, we continually need to put on the whole panoply of the Scriptures. See ye not, that braziers, goldsmiths, silver-smiths, and other artificers, have all the tools of their trade ready and in perfect order; and though hunger press them, or poverty trouble them, they had rather undergo the extreme of suffering, than part with a single instrument of their trade in exchange for food. Many have preferred to borrow money upon interest in

order to feed their families, rather than sell the smallest of their tools, and with reason; for they know, that if these were sold, their art would be rendered unavailing, and the whole ground-work of their gain destroyed. But so long as they preserve their tools, they are enabled, by the continual exercise of their art, gradually to cancel the debt. Of like mind should we be; for as the hammer, the anvil, and the pincers are to them the tools of their art, the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, and every Scripture given us by God, are unto us the tools of our art. And as artificers, by means of their tools, can form whatsoever vessels they will, in like manner can we, by means of *our* tools, fashion the soul, make it straight, where it hath become crooked, and renew it, where it hath become old. Yet they, with their art, can only give the form,—they cannot change the substance of the vessels,—they cannot make silver into gold,—the shape only can they mould. But thou hast power to do more with thine art;—*thou canst take a vessel of wood, and change it into a vessel of gold*, as Paul testifieth, saying: ‘In a great house, there are not only vessels of gold and silver, but also of wood and earth. If a man, therefore purge himself, from these, he shall be a vessel unto honor, sanctified and meet for the master’s use, and prepared unto every good work.’ Let us, therefore, not delay to purchase Bibles, lest we receive a vital wound. *Let us not hoard up gold; but let us treasure up for ourselves spiritual books.* The very aspect of the sacred volume maketh us more loth to sin, and if to this be added diligent reading, the soul, led, as it were, into the inmost sanctuary, will become cleansed and amended,—God himself

II Timoth.
II. 20, 21.

holding converse with it through the Scriptures. He then proceeded to the excuse of the Bible not being intelligible to all men, and upon this subject he says : “ The grace of the Spirit provided, that tax-gatherers, fishermen, makers of tents, and shepherds, ignorant and unlettered men, should write these books in order, that no one, however simple, might be enabled to shelter himself under this pretext ; that the things therein taught might be plain to all ; and that the artizan, the slave, the widow, and the most unlettered of mankind, might, from hearing them, derive advantage and aid. For they, having been endued through the mercy of God with the grace of the Spirit, wrote not all those things after the manner of the Gentiles, for the sake of vainglory, but for the salvation of their hearers. As the common teachers of the whole world, they set forth their doctrines clearly and simply unto all, that any one might be able to understand them of himself, by merely reading them ; and that this should come to pass had been foretold by the prophet Jeremiah : ‘ they shall be all taught of God, and they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, saying, Know the Lord ; for they shall all know me from the least of them unto the greatest of them.’ And I Paul saith : ‘ I brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God.’ Again : ‘ My speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man’s wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power.’ And again : ‘ We speak wisdom, yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought.’ For to whom are not all things in the Gospel manifest ? Who when he heareth : ‘ Blessed are the merciful,’ ‘ Blessed

Jer. XXXI.
34, and
Joh. VI. 45.
I Cor. II. 1.

I Cor. II. 4.

I Cor. II. 6.

Matt. V. 5,
7, 8.

are the pure in heart,' and other such sayings, hath need of a teacher to explain to him those words? Again ye say, that the things concerning the signs and the miracles, and the story are not clear and manifest to every one. This is a mere excuse and cloak for sloth. How should ye ever be able to understand the things contained in the Scriptures, when ye will not so much as slightly look into them. Take the Bible in your hands, read the whole story, and, bearing in mind the things, which are clear, peruse again and again those, which are dark and difficult; and if, after frequent reading, ye find not the sense of a passage, go to a brother more learned than yourselves; seek the teacher, and talk of it with him; shew an earnest desire for knowledge, and *if God perceive in you such great zeal, he will not slight your watchfulness and care*; and should no man open to you that, which ye seek, *God himself will surely reveal it to you.* Remember the treasurer of the queen of the Ethiopians,¹ who, being a bar-

¹ Chrysostom makes the following application of this story. Hom. in Act. Apost. XIX: "Behold, how powerful and rich he was, and yet he rested not on his journey. Hear, ye who are in power, and imitate the humility and piety of the eunuch. Although he was about to return home, he said not to himself, I go to my fatherland, there I will be baptized,—the cold observation of most. He saw not Christ; he saw no miracle; he beheld Jerusalem still standing, and believed Philip; for he had a soul careful for its salvation; he attended to the Scriptures, and exercised himself in reading them. The thief saw signs; the wise men saw a star; but he saw no wonder, and believed. Of such great advantage is the reading of the Scriptures. Thus was fulfilled the command of Moses; 'Remember the Lord thy God, when thou sittest in thine house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.' Deut. VI. 7. When the ways are deserted, then have we a fit season for meditation; for we then are troubled by no man.

barian, busied in a thousand cares, and on all sides beset by manifold affairs, sat reading in his chariot, although he understood not the things he read. Think how zealous he must have been at home, when even upon a journey he shewed such great zeal. Because he thus read, although he had no guide; soon a guide was given unto him. God well-pleased, beheld his zeal, and delayed not to send him a teacher. There is indeed no Philip now; but the Spirit is there, which moved Philip. Let us not then, my beloved, neglect our salvation. All these things were written for us,—‘for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.’ A strong defence against sin is the reading of the Scriptures,—an awful headlong steep, a deep abyss, is an ignorance of them,—a great betrayal of salvation is the knowing nought of the sacred laws. It is this, which hath given birth to heresy; it is this, which hath corrupted our lives; it is this, which hath turned things upside down.” We find also elsewhere the following: “We have a merciful Lord. If he behold us troubled, and greatly longing for a knowledge of the divine word, he suffereth us not to need the aid of another; but he straightways himself enlighteneth our understandings; sheddeth his brightness largely around us; and, agreeably to his well-schemed wisdom, putteth in our souls the whole doctrine of truth.” In a sermon, wherein he sought to illustrate the divine power of Holy Writ, he said: “As those, who are seated beside a fountain, delight in the breezes wafted thence, and, if the sultry sun oppress them, avert the heat by constantly bathing their faces in its waters, or if they be parched by thirst, easily remedy the evil, since the spring giveth them the ready

I Cor. X. 11.

Hom. in
Gen. XXIV.

ὅτι χρησι-
μος ἡ τῶν
γραφῶν ἀν-
αγνωσις.
Savil. VII.
p. 112.

means ; in like manner can they, who sit beside the spring of Holy Writ, if persecuted by the flames of some unhallowed desire, easily extinguish them by refreshing their souls with its waters ; or if raging anger bubble as a caldron of boiling water within their breasts, they instantly quell the storm of passion by a few drops taken from this living source. The reading of the Sacred Scriptures snatcheth the soul from out of all these evil thoughts, as it were from the midst of the fire. Wherefore that great prophet David, knowing the good, which cometh of reading the Scriptures, likeneth the man, who hath a constant intercourse with them, unto an evergreen tree, which groweth beside a stream, saying : ‘ Blessed is the man, that walketh not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor standeth in the ways of sinners, nor sitteth in the seat of the scornful. But his delight is in the law of the Lord ; and in his law doth he meditate both day and night. And he shall be like a tree planted by the rivers of waters.’ And as such a tree, being constantly watered, is defended against all changes of weather ; feareth neither the burning ray of the sun, nor shunneth the parching blast ; for having absorbed a sufficient moisture within itself, it straightways wardeth off the excessive heat, which falleth upon it from without : in like manner will the soul, dwelling beside the stream of Sacred Writ, constantly drinking its waters, and imbibing the dew of the Holy Spirit, be unsubdued by any change of fortune ; and though disease, though insult, though calumnies, though revilings, though scorn, though every mockery, though all the evils of the world, assailed such a soul, it will easily endure the fiery ordeal of calamity, through the abundant consolation afforded in

Ps. 1. 1—3.

the Scriptures. Not the greatness of earthly glory, not the height of power, not the presence of friends, none of human means can afford consolation to the afflicted, like that of reading the Holy Scriptures. For all those things are transitory and perishable, therefore is their consolation transitory. But the reading of the Holy Scriptures is communion with God. And if God himself give comfort to the faint-hearted, should aught on earth have power to trouble them? Let us then heed the reading of the Holy Scriptures, not only during these two hours, but constantly; for the mere listening here will not be sufficient to secure the salvation of our souls. Let each man, when he returneth home, take the Bible in his hand, and if he desire to derive a full and enduring advantage from the Holy Scripture, let him ponder therein upon the things spoken in the church. For the tree, which groweth beside the stream, mingleth not with its waters for two or three hours only, but during the whole day and the whole night. Therefore is the plant rich in leaves: therefore is it laden with fruit, although no man water it; because, standing upon the bank of the river, it draweth up moisture through its roots, and through them imparteth strength to the whole stem. Thus he, who continually readeth the Bible, *although no man be near to expound it, receiveth thereby into his soul abundant nourishment from that sacred fountain.*"¹

¹ We will here compare with the above a remarkable passage from a sermon preached at Constantinople, upon the reading of the Bible. Hom. in Coloss. IX.: "Await no other teacher. Thou hast the word of God, and none can be to thee so good an instructor. Man often concealeth things through vainglory and envy. Hear, I beseech you, all ye, who live for this world, and procure bibles, as medi-

When Chrysostom entered upon his ministry at Antioch, there existed a schism in the church, which had been maintained above twenty years in all the rage of party spirit. Independent of the larger portion of the community, which looked up to Meletius as their bishop, a separate congregation had grown up, which had never been brought to acknowledge that worthy man, because he had been appointed to his high office by the influence of Arians, although his opinions conformed so little to those of Arius, that he was shortly after his installation, exiled on account of his opposition to those doctrines. When Meletius died, A. D. 381, while the council of Constantinople was being held, the schism might easily have been healed, had it not been arranged according to the demands of Gregory Nazianzen, and agreeably to the decision of a former treaty ratified by oaths, that no other bishop should be associated with the aged Paulinus. In that case, after the death of Paulinus,—which could not have been very distant—the schism would of itself have subsided. But the arrogant self-will of the Orientalists permitted not this arrangement; and by the choice of Flavian in the room of Meletius, the schism was handed down to succeeding ages. This schism had been accompanied by the injurious consequences ever attendant upon such divisions. Those very persons, who distinguished

cine for your souls. Purchase at least the New Testament, the Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Apostolical Epistles; and let them be your constant guide. If grief come upon thee, look therein, as in a repository of medicines; thence take consolation in all misfortunes; in the hour of death, and under the loss of friends: or rather, look not therein, but carry about with thee its contents in thy heart. An ignorance of the Scriptures is the cause of all evils. Not to know the Scriptures, is to go to the war without arms."

themselves by a more than ordinary interest in the concerns of religion and the church, were led, from a mistaken sympathy to engage the most ardently in the cause of one or other of the contending parties; and they, who could have effected so much for their own salvation and that of others, had their zeal been properly directed, forgot that *the true spirit of Christianity is that of humility and love*. On this point Chrysostom thus expresses himself: "Of those who form our church, some never come hither, or once only in the year; and then they demean themselves carelessly, and are devoid of godly fear. Others come more frequently, but they likewise behave themselves irreverently, talking lightly and jesting about trifles. They, however, who seem zealous and in earnest, are the workers of this mischief." He was compelled particularly to censure the women,¹ who took a vehement part in those factious disputes, and against them his admonitory discourses were chiefly directed.

Hom. in
Ephes. XI.

It might have been supposed, that Chrysostom, the pupil and intimate friend of Meletius, would have peculiarly interested himself in these factious quarrels; but that Christian love and wisdom, which dwelt within his heart, preserved him from the baneful influence of party spirit, and raised him above those passions, by which so many dissensions among the clergy of that age were occasioned or promoted. He bitterly complained of the power exercised by these passions over those, who of all mankind should have been the most indifferent to worldly interests. After denouncing the pernicious effects of envy, he says: "That worldly men

Hom. in
II Cor.
XXVII.

¹ Εἶπατε ὅσαι παρεστε; ὡς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ γυναικῶν τοῦτο τὸ ἐλαττωμα. ταῖς ἀπουσαις διηγῆσασθε τοῦτο τὸ ὑποδειγμα, φοβησατε.

should become a prey to envy is dreadful and grievous; but that they, who are removed from the turmoils of the world, should be stricken with this disease is far more so. Gladly would I be mute, and it were better to say nothing, could my silence put away our shame. But if, though I be silent, the facts themselves cry out louder than my tongue, no harm can then accrue from my words. Nay! perhaps by making our faults known, some advantage and fruit may be gathered. This is the disease, which hath laid hands upon the church; this hath turned all things upside down; and hath severed the joints of the body. And we stand in lists, while envy armeth us. Hence the many wrestings from the true meaning of the Scriptures. For if, when we all build together, we deem it well that our disciples stand,—what will be the end, when we all work together to destroy?

What are ye doing? Think ye to do well, when ye pull down the fabric of your neighbour? Instead of his work, ye destroy your own. Behold how the gardeners and tillers of the ground all strive to one end. One diggeth, another planteth, another covereth the roots, another watereth the tree, another hedgeth it or walleth it about, another wardeth off the wild beasts; and they all have but one end—the safety of the tree. It is not so with us; but I plant, and another shaketh the young growth. Suffer it only to take firm root, that it may withstand an attack. It is not my work, but your own, which ye destroy. I planted; ye should have watered. But if ye shake the tree, ye tear the roots, and ye will have nought to water. And what if ye behold the planter extolled of men? Fear not. Neither am I any thing, nor are ye any thing; for ‘neither is he,

that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth,' but the work is of God alone; *so that ye strive and war against him, when ye root up that, which is planted.* 1 Cor. III. 7. Let us then become sober-minded and watchful. I dread not so much the war from without, as the struggle from within. *The root will not be harmed by the winds, if it be firmly fixed in the ground; but, if inwardly gnawed by worms, it tottereth and falleth without any one assaulting it.* How long, after the manner of worms, shall we gnaw the root of the Church? for notions such as these are born of earth, yea not of earth, but rather of the dung-hill, having rottenness for their mother; and how long shall we suffer the women to scatter their loathsome incense around us? ¹ Let us at length wax valiant in fight; let us be wrestlers unto holiness; and let us remove this vast store of evils. I see the throng of the church, like a corpse now stretched before me, and as in a body, whence life hath newly fled, the eyes, and hands, and feet, and neck, and head, may be seen, though not one of these members performeth its office; so here all present are believers, but theirs is no living faith; for we have quenched the vital heat, and made lifeless the body of Christ."

In another sermon, in which he represents the injurious effects of the schism prevailing in the community, he said: "Behold, say the heathen, every thing with the Christians is vain-glory, love of power, and fraud. Take from them their crowd of followers; destroy the disease, the delusion of the multitude; and they are nothing. Shall I tell you further what they say concerning our city? How they ac-

Hom. in
Ephes.

¹ Καὶ οὐκ ἀφισταμεθα τῆς καταπτυστου θεραπείας τῆς παρα τῶν γυναικῶν.

cuse us of a ready yieldance? Any man, they assert, can without fail, if such be his desire, find followers among them.” Another fatal consequence resulted from this schism. Many, who in one community had, on account of their transgressions, merited exclusion from the church by passing over to the other community, escaped the penances imposed upon them; or at least, by threatening to secede, sought to intimidate the clergy of their own party: “Let such a man,” said Chrysostom, “withdraw a thousand times, and go over to them; I say not this alone concerning sinners, but should any one be guiltless and desire to change sides, let him depart. I indeed may grieve and beat my breast, and wail, and my bowels may yearn, as a man bereaved of one of his own members; but neither grief nor fear shall lead me to demean myself unbecomingly.”

He beheld with pain, that the Christians of Antioch were misled by these divisions to condemn and upbraid each other as heretics; and in the second year of his ministry he directed against this unchristian proceeding a fine discourse, well worthy the consideration of all ages: “When I come,” he said, “among men, I perceive some, who neither have their minds chastened by holy writ, nor understand any part of the Scripture. In shame and silence I pass by many, madmen and idlers, ‘understanding neither what they say, nor of whom they affirm,’ who being ignorant themselves, dare to teach doctrine to others, and denounce as heresy the things they comprehend not; so that neither caring to lead holy lives, nor having learnt to do good, they render our faith the scorn of the unbelievers.” He then warned his congregation against the consequences of treating thus

Περι του μη
δειν αναθε-
ματιζειν.
Tom. 1. f.
691.

1 Tim. 1. 7.

irreverently the doctrines given for the salvation of men, which irreverent treatment has in truth brought down a heavy chastisement upon the Eastern Church: "Woe! woe unto us! How 'many prophets and righteous men have desired to see those things which we see, and have not seen them, and to hear those things which we hear, and have not heard them,' *and we disport with them.* 'Wherefore, I beseech you, give an earnest heed to the things which ye have heard, lest at any time we should let them slip. For if the word spoken by angels was stedfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward; how shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation?' Say, what is the aim of the gospel of grace? For what purpose did the Son of God appear in the flesh? Is it that we should bite and devour one another? and yet the dispensation of Christ, which in all things is more perfect, than the command of the law, requireth from us greater love. In the one it is said: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' In the other we are enjoined, to die for our neighbour." After having related the parable of the Samaritan, he continued: "It was not the priest, it was not the Levite, whom Christ called neighbour, but him, who was cast out by the Jews on account of his doctrine;—I mean the Samaritan, the stranger, who entertained many heresies; him alone did Christ call neighbour, because in him mercy was found. These are the words of the Son of God, and this mercy he manifested in his own works; in that he shed his blood not only for his friends, and for his own, but also for his enemies, for rulers, for deceivers, for those, who hated him, and for those, who crucified him. How then, if such things were done

Matt. XIII.
17.

Heb. 11. 2, 3.

Levit. XIX.
18.
Matt. XXII.
30.
Luke X. 30
—37.

by Christ himself,—and the Church follow his example by every day praying for all men,¹—how can ye dare to utter such words? Tell me the meaning of the curse, which ye pronounce²? ‘Let this man be given up to the devil; let him from this time be cut off from every hope of salvation, let him be a stranger to Christ? And who are ye of such great authority and power? The Son of God shall one day appear, and ‘he shall set the sheep on his right hand, but the goats on the left.’ Why have ye taken to yourselves such great honor, of which alone were deemed worthy the community of the apostles, and those, who, in all strictness, have of a truth become their successors, full of grace and power.³ The apostles reprov'd the false teachers, and cast them out; but upon none of them did they pronounce such a judgment. The Apostle Paul in two passages only, when urg'd, as it would seem by necessity, useth this word, without however applying it to any particular person. And will ye set at nought the death of the Lord, and forestall the judgment of God, by daring to give a judgment, which none of those dared give, to whom the power was entrusted? But what say they, who are thus forward in malice? That man hath become a teacher of false doctrine; he hath a devil dwelling within him; he uttereth blasphemies against God; he leadeth many by the semblance of wisdom, and by the arts of vain deceit to the abyss of ruin; wherefore the elders have cast out him, and especially

Matt. XXV.
33.

II Cor. XVI.
22.
Gal. I. 8.

¹ The old church prayer for the salvation of all men, mentioned by Justin Martyr.

² Anathema.

³ From such expressions as these we may perceive the judgment formed by Chrysostom of the assemblies of the Church in his time, which were wont so lightly to pronounce the anathema.

his teacher, who hath severed a portion of the church ;—thus do they speak, be it of Paulinus or Apollinaris.¹ Now do ye instruct those, who oppose themselves, in meekness correcting them, ‘ If God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth, and that they may recover themselves out of the snare of the devil, who are taken captive by him at his will.’ Stretch forth the net of love, ‘ lest that which is lame be turned out of the way, but let it rather be healed.’ Shew, that in fulness of love we are ready to impart to all the good, which hath been given to us. Throw out the sweet hook of sympathy, and having dived into the hidden secrets of his soul, rescue the sinking man from the abyss of destruction. Shew, that that, which is esteemed through prejudice and ignorance, is at variance with apostolical tradition. And if the erring man receive your warning, he shall, according to the words of the prophet, ‘ surely live ; and thou hast delivered thy soul.’ But if he heed you not, and continue in his hardened opposition, call upon him to bear witness for you, that ye may not be called to an account ; only do it with patience and with mildness, lest the judge require his soul at your hands,—without hatred, without forsaking him, without persecuting him, but shewing to him a true and pure love. Testify towards him this love, and though the wicked man turn not from his way, it will be to thee a great *profit, a great gain, to love, and to teach the doctrine of Christ* ; for ‘ by this,’ saith

II Tim. II.
25, 26.

Heb. XII.
13.

Ezek. III.
21.

¹ Paulinus, the chief of the party, who would not acknowledge Meletius as bishop, against whom the Eastern Church declared, and who, on account of some verbal disputes, was also accused of Sabellianism. Apollinaris, whose friend Vitalis, presbyter of the Meletians, had founded a third party, independent of the other two.

Joh. XIII. 35. the Lord, 'shall all men know, that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another.' And without this, neither the understanding of the mysteries of God, nor faith, nor prophecy, nor poverty, nor martyrdom, can avail, as the Apostle hath shewn: 'And though,' saith he, 'I have all mysteries and all knowledge; and though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing. And though I speak with the tongues of angels, and though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, I am nothing. Charity is kind, is not puffed up, seeketh not her own; it beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.'

I Cor. XIII. 1—8. None of you, my beloved, have manifested such fervent love for Christ, as did this sainted spirit; no man hath dared to utter the words, which he uttered. His very heart burned within him, when he said: 'I fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ in my flesh;' and 'I could wish, that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren;' and again: 'Who is weak, and I am not weak?' but filled, as he was, with such fervent love for Christ, he uttered no revilings; he offered no violence, he pronounced no curse, against any man. Otherwise he could not have gained over so many nations, and whole cities to God; but humiliated, beaten, buffeted, exposed to the scorn of all men, he did these things by friendly persuasion, by exhortation and entreaty. Thus did he make his way among the Athenians; and when he found them all blindly given to idolatry, he reviled them not, saying: 'ye are atheists, and men utterly profane.' He said not unto them; 'ye deem everything to be

Coloss. I. 24.
Rom. IX. 3.
II Cor. XI. 29.

God, and deny the one true God, the Lord and Creator of all things.' But what said he? 'As I passed by, and beheld your devotions, I found an altar with this inscription, To the unknown God,—whom therefore ye ignorantly worship, him declare I unto you.' Oh wonderful! what paternal love! He saith of the idolaters, that they worship the true God; and why? Because they performed their devotions with pious purpose, having persuaded themselves, that thereby they worshipped God. I exhort you all, nor do I except myself, to follow this example. For he, whom ye would curse, either liveth and is present in this mortal life; or he is dead. If he be living, ye do wickedly; because ye shut out from the kingdom of heaven one, who may be converted, and yet may turn from evil unto good. If he be dead, ye do still more wickedly; because he standeth or falleth to his own Lord, and is no longer amenable to human power. It is perilous to seek the revelation of that, which is hidden from all, except God; it is forestalling the judge of ages, who alone knoweth the measure of knowledge and the degree of faith, which dwelleth in every soul."

Acts XVII.
23.

Besides, this little party separated from the mother church more through accidental circumstances, than by any essential difference of doctrine, there were scattered throughout the city of Antioch members of other sects, dissenting from the church in important points. As they contended with the other Christians upon certain dogmas, and endeavored to promulgate their own opinions, Chrysostom considered it to be his duty, by thoroughly refuting their errors, to guard his congregation against these attacks, and at the same time to instruct them in the means of refuting the sectarians in their own

discussions with them. He hoped likewise to turn many from their mistaken views, as both heathens and heretics attended his sermons, either attracted by his eloquence, or desirous of hearing his allegations against them. In order to obtain a hearing among the unlearned, the heretics¹ commonly pretended, that, differing from the Church in no essential points, they equally believed in Christ, and equally preached his religion. They appealed to the words of St. Paul: "What then? notwithstanding every way, whether in pretence or in truth, Christ is preached." Chrysostom, in order to preserve his flock from indifference, endeavored to prove, in a homily upon this passage, that it had been perverted to an end entirely foreign to its real signification. He first asserted that Paul spoke not here of what *ought to occur*, but of what *was occurring*. Then, that Paul alluded not to those, who, under the name of Christ, promulgated a false religion; but to those, who delivered the true doctrine from impure motives, and not from sincere conviction.² Against this

Philipp. I.
18.

Tom. III. f.
300.

¹ They appealed to a passage, which they brought forward and applied without respect to its context, in which manner so many passages of the Bible are distorted: "Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind." Rom. XIV. 5. In Chrysostom, Hom. in Rom. XXV. as well as in Theodoret, we find warnings against this false interpretation. Not only were the heretics, from their position, led to represent difference of doctrine as unimportant; but, as many of the Established Church laid too great a stress upon speculative forms of faith; so, on the other hand, one extreme leading to another, many came forward to declare difference of opinion in matters of doctrine to be immaterial; and to a narrow dogmatism opposed an equally narrow system of ethics, which misconceived the connection, existing between Christian faith and Christian life.—See Neander's Church History, Vol. II. p. 1468. upon the sect of the Rhetorians.

² Although the remainder of the observations of Chrysostom on this subject are just, the second reason here assigned

perversion of the doctrine of St. Paul, he shews from passages such as Gall. I. 8, and II Cor. XI. 2, 3, that St. Paul attached great importance to purity of doctrine, and considered as deeply injurious the errors, which seduced men from the true faith.

is deduced from a passage of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, I. 16, taken in a sense, which is scarcely maintainable; but which appears to have been adopted by all the early expounders of the Bible. They understood namely the words; *‘ τοις δεσμοις μου, ’* ‘to my bonds,’ too literally; so that they conceived them to mean an aggravation of the imprisonment of St. Paul, and a severer treatment of him from the bitterness of the heathen, in consequence of the increased number of the Christians. But it is unnatural to suppose, that the enemies of St. Paul should have preached Christianity, without being themselves convinced of the truth of its doctrines; and that they should have thereby exposed themselves to great dangers, in order to render him more hated by the heathen. Therefore some of the heathen opponents of Christianity found in this passage of the Epistle to the Philippians, according to the ordinary interpretation of it, a contradiction. This appears from the following words of Chrysostom in his explanation of those words, Hom. in Philip. II: *“ ἄλλα τις μιᾶρος καὶ ἀναισθητος (ὁ ἄναισχυτος) ἐπιλαβομένος του χωριου τουτου, φησιν· καὶ μὴν το ἐναντιον εἰργασαντο ἄν, τους ἤδη πεπιστευκοτας ἀπῆλασαν, οὐχὶ τους πιστους ἐπιδουναὶ ἐποίησαν ἄν, εἴγε δακεῖν αὐτον ἐβουλοντο.”* But a bold and foolish commentator, criticising this passage, saith: ‘had they wished to have injured St. Paul, they would have acted otherwise; they would have scared away those who already believed, and not have added to their number.’” The question here relates rather to Jewish teachers, who were not sincere and earnest in the preaching of the gospel, which they distorted by a mixture with Judaism; and who, forestalling the Apostle of the Gentiles by preaching the doctrines of Christ after their own manner, formed for themselves a party; and desired to excite the envy of Paul, whom they judged according to themselves, and to occasion him trouble in his imprisonment. But Paul, in whose heart the cause of Christianity lay deep, was glad, that the heathen should be made acquainted with Christ, were it not at first even in the right manner. If faith once found an entrance into their minds, structures might afterwards be raised upon it.

Among the peasantry, and in the smaller towns, of Syria, the Manicheans and Gnostics¹ had always maintained themselves, but few of them appear to have resided at Antioch,—at all events, their influence was slight in that great metropolis. Chrysostom, therefore, merely noticed their doctrines incidentally in his sermons, when he defended the free-will of man against their views of predestination and fatality; or when he sought to prove, in opposition to their tenets, that the body in itself is not the cause of evil, and that neither the body, nor aught that is external, can compel men to sin.

The Eunomians were a sect of far greater importance at Antioch. They were transplanted thither at an early period, and combatted the doctrine of the true divinity of Christ,—that the Son was of the same substance² with the father; and it appears, that their chief leaders, Cœtius and Eunomius, had formerly preached in that city. Soon after he had entered upon his ministry, Chrysostom felt himself compelled to defend in his discourses this important doctrine against the objections disseminated by

¹ The extension of the Gnostics among the country population of Syria, is known from Theodoret, Ep. 81. A letter of Libanius, in which he recommended the Manicheans in Palestine to the protection of the Governor Priscus, treats of their state in these parts," Ep. 1344, "Οἱ τοῦ ἡλίου οὗτοι θεραπευόντες ἀνευ αἵματος, καὶ τιμῶντες θεοῦ προσηγορίᾳ δευτέρα, καὶ τὴν γαστέρα κολαζόντες, καὶ ἐν κερδίᾳ ποιοῦμενοι τὴν τῆς τελευταίας ἡμέραν, πολλαχοῦ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς. πανταχοῦ δὲ ὀλιγοὶ καὶ ἀδίκουσι μὲν οὐδὲνα, λυποῦνται δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐπιεικῶν." "They who worship the sun, without bloody sacrifices, honoring it as the second deity, who mortify their bodies by fasting, and regard the day of death as a gain, are spread over many parts of the earth; but in all places sparingly. They injure no man; but are persecuted by some." They honored the sun as a second deity, subordinate to the ἀπλῶς θεός, the θεός πρωτος.

² ὁμοσιος.

members of this sect among his congregation. But for some time he purposely refrained from attacking them, because he observed, that many of their party frequented the church for the sake of hearing him, and he was desirous not to scare them away, trusting, that, if he could obtain their confidence, his instruction might win a more easy access to their hearts. He was successful in the attainment of his object, being in the first years of his ministry called upon by the sectarians themselves to state the opinions he held in opposition to their tenets. We learn this fact from his own words given in the first of a series of sermons, which he preached upon this subject: "I have long since purposed to speak to you these words, but I forbore and deferred, because I beheld many, who are tainted with this heresy, lend us a willing ear; and being unwilling to scare away those, whom I hoped to gain, I withheld my tongue from these disputations for a season, that when I had a sure hold over their minds, I might engage in the strife. But since, by the grace of God, I have heard themselves summon me to the lists, I have at length with boldness stripped me for the fight, and I have seized those arms, which enlighten the understanding, and abase every high thought, which is lifted up against the knowledge of God. I have seized these weapons, not to strike down our adversaries, but to raise the fallen. For such is their power, that while they smite those, who delight in strife, they heal with great love those, who hearken with singleness of heart; they give not wounds, but they cure them. Let us not then rage against the heretics, nor furiously assail them, but let us reason with them in gentleness. No arms are mightier,

Hom. de
Incompre-
hensib. I.

than are gentleness and love. Wherefore Paul commanded us to observe these things with all diligence, saying : ‘ The servant of the Lord must not strive, but be gentle unto *all men.*’ He saith not only unto *the brethren*, but unto *all men.* And again : ‘ Let your moderation be known,’ not unto *the brethren*, but ‘ unto *all men.*’

II Tim. II. 24. ‘ For if ye love them, which love you, what reward have ye ?’ If their friendship be hurtful to you, and if they allure you to a communion with iniquity, depart from them, although they were your parents ; for it is written : ‘ if thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out ;’ but if they shake not your faith, strive to draw them over unto us. If, on the other hand, ye cannot help them, but they harm you, avoid communication with them, shun them only, strive not, war not against them. Thus likewise Paul exhorteth us : ‘ If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.’ Ye are the servants of the God of Peace. When he cast out the evil spirits, and performed countless good offices for man, they said unto him : ‘ thou hast a devil.’ He hurled not his lightning down upon them ; he crushed not the blasphemers ; he consumed not with fire their shameless and unthankful tongues, and yet all those things he had the power to do ; but he repelled the accusation with these words alone : ‘ I have not a devil, but I honor my father.’ And when the servant of the high priest struck him, what spake he ? ‘ If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil : but if well, why smitest thou me ?’ If then the Lord of angels justify himself and render an account to a servant, what need have we of further speech ? Only turn these words over in your mind, heed them without ceasing, and say : ‘ If I have spoken evil, bear witness of

Philip. IV. 5.
 Matt. V. 46.
 Matth. V. 29.
 Rom. XII. 18.
 Joh. VIII. 48.
 Joh. VIII. 49.
 Joh. XVIII. 23.

the evil, but if well, why smitest thou me?' and think who it was who spoke these words, to whom and wherefore they were spoken, and they will be to thee as some heavenly and never ending strain, able to calm every passion of thy soul. Consider the glory of him, who was blasphemed, the meanness of the blasphemer, the greatness of the blasphemy, yet he endured all these things, that from the riches of his example, ye might learn to be wise. Let us not only ponder these sayings here, but let us be mindful of them in their *due season*." At the end of his second sermon upon this subject, Chrysostom repeated the same advice, and calling upon the strong to labor for the salvation of the erring, he cautioned the weak against the temptation of seeking after the example of St. Paul, to become 'all things to all men,' if they possessed not strength sufficient to preserve themselves from the infection of the evil, which they sought to cure. The polemical controversies with the Eunomians related to two subjects, to the objections, which they raised against the true divinity of Christ, and to their narrow-minded opinions on points of doctrine, which led them to imagine, that the mysteries of religion were within the sphere of human comprehension. Those opinions were likewise intimately connected with their opposition to the doctrines of the church, and their views of the relation existing between the father and the son.

I. Cor. IX.
22.

When the Eunomians brought forward against the true divinity of Christ, the passages wherein he represents himself subordinate to God, ¹

¹ For they would not here allow the distinction drawn by the defenders of the doctrines of the church between a divine and a human nature of Christ, to hold good; because they placed human nature, with which the word was united, in a

Chrysostom replied: "If it be granted that Christ is very God, there will be many just grounds, upon which we may explain and apply the expressions, in which he would seem to intimate his inferiority. But of those passages, wherein Christ assumeth a higher dignity, no other explanation can be given, except, that it was his pleasure to reveal this dignity to men. A great man may speak lowly of himself, and he will not on that account be censured; for therein is gentle condescension: but if a man of low estate, speak highly of himself, he cannot escape the accusation that attacheth to the boaster. If then the son be inferior to the father, he would not have employed expressions, which made him equal to the father; for this were boastful presumption. But being equal to the father, he spoke lowly of himself; and this circumstance can afford no ground for censure, but is on the contrary worthy both of praise and admiration."

Chrysostom not only combatted the several tenets of the Eunomians, but likewise the general tendency of their doctrines, which was manifested in a presumptuous and narrow-minded logic, estimating too highly the power of human knowledge, and an ignorance of the limits, within which such knowledge is necessarily confined; for the Eunomians went so far as to assert, that, according to the doctrine of the incomprehensibility of God and of religious mysteries, Christ would have appeared in vain, for then God would not through him have been made known. In combatting these perverted views, Chrysostom seized the opportunity afforded him to maintain with more than his usual energy

mere human body. I have translated the passage of Chrysostom, which follows, from the German, not being able to find it in the Benedictine edition of his works.

the sublimity and incomprehensibility of divine mysteries, and the dignity and privileges of faith, by which alone these mysteries, could in any wise be imparted to men. After having cited against them the passage in I. Cor. xiii. 11, he added: "A child seeth, heareth, and speaketh many things; but it seeth, heareth, and speaketh nothing clearly; and it understandeth things, but nothing accurately: and I also see many things, but I know them only in part. I know, that God is every where present, and that he is *indivisibly present* everywhere;¹ but how I know not; I know, that he is without beginning, not born, and without end, but how I know not; *for the understanding cannot comprehend, how a being can exist, which oweth its origin neither to itself nor to another.* I know that God hath begotten the son, but how I know not. I know that the Spirit cometh from God, but how I know not. I eat food, but how it is separated into phlegm, blood, spittle, and bile, I know not. The things which we daily see and eat, we understand not, and yet we would pry into the nature of God."

Hom. de
Incompre-
hens. I.

"We cannot understand the nature of our own souls; we cannot so much as explain the union of the soul with the body; and yet we would pry into the nature of God."

Hom. de
Incompre-
hens. V.

In combatting the assumption of a theory transcending the limits of human knowledge, he says: "*So great is the evil of not abiding within the limits marked out for us by God from the beginning.* Thus in the hope of gaining higher honor Adam fell, and thus is it with the covetous, who, in striving after greater possessions, often lose those, which had fallen to their share." With respect to the means of salvation appointed for mankind he observes: "No

Hom. de
Incompre-
hens. I.

Hom. de
Incompre-
hens. II.

¹ Και ὅτι ὅλος ἐστὶ πανταχοῦ οἶδα.

human understanding can comprehend wonders so many and so great; through faith alone can they be taught and made known." On another occasion, when again combatting the self-sufficient speculations of the heretic, who sought to know and to explain every thing, he thus alludes to the power and dignity of faith:

Hom. in
Joann.
LXIII.

"Faith is a precious thing, if it proceed from a heart and soul glowing with a mighty love. By such a faith we are made wise; human weakness is hidden; and while reason, which aspireth to know all things, is left below on earth, ourselves are raised to heaven; or rather faith comprehendeth and accomplisheth what human wisdom is unable to find out. Let us then hold fast faith, and not intrust our affairs to reason. Say, why did the heathen make no discoveries? Knew they not all worldly wisdom? Why overcame they not fishermen, and tent-makers, and untaught men? Was it not, that the one put their whole trust in reason, the others in faith? Therefore the latter clearly excelled Plato, Pythagoras, and all the wise men of the Gentiles." We will further compare different passages relative to this subject extracted from sermons preached by him at Constantinople:

Hom. in
Heb. XXII.

*"The work of faith needeth a noble and a youthful mind, which raiseth itself above things seen, and leaveth the weakness of human understanding behind it; for no one can have faith, unless he soar above the ordinary flight of mortal men."*¹ Because faith was upbraided as a thing, which bore no proof, and as being rather a delusion, Paul sheweth, that the greatest things are to be

¹ το της πιστεως γενναιον (ογ γενναιας) και νεανικης δειται ψυχης, και παντα υπερβαινουσης τα αισθητα και την ασθενηαν των λογισμων των ανθρωπινων παρερχομενης. Ου γαρ εστιν ετερως γενεσθαι πιστον, αν μη τις εαυτον της συνηθειας υπεραναγαγη, της κοινης.

accomplished through faith, and not through reason.¹ And how sheweth he this? In that he saith: ‘Through faith we understand, that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that that things which are seen, were not made of things which do appear.’ It is manifest, saith he, that God out of nothing created the things, which are; out of the invisible created he the visible. But whence is it manifest, that God created all these things by his word? Reason leadeth us not to this end. On the contrary it teacheth us, that every where of the things, which are seen, come those, which appear.² Wherefore the philosophers, who trust alone to reason, and leave nothing to faith, assert, that of nothing nothing can come. But they convict themselves, when they maintain any thing great or lofty, and leave it to be established by faith; as when they affirm, that God is without beginning, and unbegotten; for reason teacheth us not this, but rather the contrary.” Again: “Since God hath bestowed on us more goodness, than the understanding of man can conceive, he hath accordingly instituted faith. He, who would comprehend all things, cannot stand fast. Behold how far beyond human reason are all the doctrines of our profession! By faith alone can they be perceived. God is no where, and he is every where. What can be more contrary to reason than this? Each doctrine apart teemeth with perplexity. God is in no place; neither is there any place, in which he is. He was not begotten; he created not himself; he had no

Heb. XI. 3.

Hom. in
Coloss. V.

¹ ὅτι τα μέγιστα δια πίστεως καὶ οὐ δια λογισμῶν κατορθοῦνται.

² Or according to another reading, which contains the same sense, but which, being more clearly expressed, probably had its origin in a glossary: “that always one appearance developeth itself out of another.” He would say: “reason comprehendeth only the connection of causes and effects in the phenomena of the creation.”

beginning. What understanding can allow these doctrines to be true, without the aid of faith? God is a spirit. What is a spirit? A mere word. The mind cannot grasp the thought, nor give to it a form; for if reason essay to shape it, it falleth back upon the natural and sensible world. The mouth indeed uttereth the word; but the understanding comprehendeth not what the mouth uttereth; or it knoweth one thing only, that a spirit is not a body.¹ And wherefore do I speak of God? What is the Spiritual nature of the created and limited being of the soul?" And after having introduced other examples to prove, that the understanding, which would explain divine mysteries, involves itself in mere antitheses,² he exclaims: "Behold how great is the darkness, which surroundeth us, and how necessary in all things is faith! *She is our strong hold.*" In answer to those persons, who despised the efficacy of faith, he shewed, that unbelief, and not faith, arises from a weakness of the soul, which is unable to emancipate itself from the influence of the visible world, and thereby attain to a communion with God, and the things of heaven; that, on the other hand, faith is the highest flight of the soul, which thereby is elevated above this present state of being to a communion with a higher world, with which it becomes

¹ Ἴδου τα σεμνά ἡμῶν πάντα πως ἔρημα λογισμῶν καὶ πιστεῶς ἔχεται μονῆς· οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμῶς ὁ θεὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ ἔστι. Οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐν τόπῳ ἔστιν, οὐδὲ τόπος ἔστι τις ἐν ᾧ ἔστιν. Οὐκ ἐγενετο, οὐχ ἑαυτὸν ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἠρξάτο τοῦ εἶναι· ποίος ταῦτα λογισμὸς καταδέξεται, ἀν μὴ πίστις ἦ; Ἄσωματος ἔστιν ὁ θεός. Τί ἔστιν, ἀσωματος; ῥῆμα ψιλὸν μόνον. Ἦ γὰρ ἐννοία οὐδὲν ἔδεξατο, οὐδὲ ἐνετυπῶσεν ἑαυτῆ· καὶ γὰρ ἀνατυπῶση, εἰς φύσιν ἔρχεται καὶ τα τοῦ σώματος ποιητικὰ ὥστε λέγει ὄμνεν τὸ στόμα, οὐκ οἶδε δὲ ἡ διάνοια τί λέγει, ἢ ἐν μόνον ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι σῶμα, τοῦτο μόνον οἶδε.

² Πανταχοῦ τα ἐναντία δεῖ δύναι.

actually connected by an inward spiritual bond. To persons unacquainted with the true nature of faith, and on that account despising it, he said; that faith is by no means an *arbitrary supposition*, but *an act*, whereby the mind really enters into and becomes incorporated with a world, which had been closed to it before, and in virtue of which incorporation a new life and consciousness of a higher order arises in man; he also added, that the nature of faith consisted in a childlike resignation; in an intuitive perception of the truth, not in reasoning; in a renunciation of the unassisted strength of human reason; in the renunciation of the power and efficacy of human works by human power alone; in virtue of which deep humility, the man, who thus admits his utter nothingness, becomes partaker of the highest fellowship, and the living organ of the Divine Spirit. We will now return to the words of Chrysostom: "Are, then, these strivings after knowledge and verbal contentions a disease? Yes, indeed! If the soul suffer from the fever of doubt; if it be disquieted,—then doth it strive after knowledge; but if the soul be sound, it admitteth faith and questioneth not. By inquiry and contention of words, we can discover nothing; for when inquiry taketh upon itself the things, which faith alone promiseth, it proveth nothing, nor letteth any thing be discerned. *For if a man with closed eyes endeavour to find a thing, which is lost, he will not attain his end; or if, with open eyes, he dig deep into the ground, and turn away from the light of the sun, and search there, he will find nothing; in like manner, without faith, nothing is to be found, and contentions will necessarily arise.*" Again: "Faith, saith the apostle, is the beholding of the things

Hom. in
Tim. XVII.

Hom. in
Hebr. XI.

invisible, and rendereth the things invisible, as certain as those which are visible. For since the things, which exist in hope, appear not yet to be, faith lendeth to them a being, or rather lendeth not, but is itself this being. For example: the resurrection of the dead hath not yet come to pass, nor is in substance; but hope suffereth it to exist in our souls. This is ‘the substance of things hoped for.’ If, then, faith be the evidence of things not seen, wherefore would ye see them, so that ye fall from faith and justification; *if so be, that the just man shall live by faith.*” In a homily edited by Montfaucon, is the following passage: “The eye of the flesh seeth things visible, but things invisible it seeth not. On the other hand, the eye of faith seeth not things visible, but things invisible it seeth. It could not behold things invisible, if it despised not the things visible. Hear what Paul saith of Abraham, that with the eye of faith he beheld the birth of his son Isaac, and thus received the promise. For what doth he say? ‘And being not weak in faith, he considered not his own body now dead.’ Great is the power of faith; for as the thoughts of men are weak and filled with apprehension, so is faith strong and mighty. ‘He considered not his own body now dead.’ Behold how Abraham turned from the things visible! How he considered not his years! Yet these were present to his sight; but he saw with the eye of faith, not with the eye of the flesh. Therefore he regarded not his own age, ‘neither yet the deadness of Sarah’s womb.’ He heeded not all these things, but with the eye of faith he raised himself to heaven; for the power of the promiser was to him the surest confirmation of the promise. Wherefore ‘he staggered not

Heb. XI. 1.

Heb. X. 38.

Vol. VI.
f. 278.

Rom. IV.
19.

Rom. IV.
19.

at the promise of God through unbelief, but was strong in faith.' For faith is a firm staff, a secure haven; it delivereth us from the errors, with which human reason is beset, and maketh the soul to rest in much peace. Christ said to his disciples: 'Blessed are your eyes; for they see;' and yet the Jews saw the things, which at that time came to pass. But Christ called not blessed the outward sight, for *that* without aid cannot discern miracles; but he spoke of the inward sight. The Jews beheld the blind man, and said: 'This is not he; let us call his parents.' But we, who were not present, testify that this is he. In this ye perceive, that absence injureth not, if the eye of faith be there; and that presence is of no avail, if the eye of faith be wanting."

Rom. IV.
20.

Matt. XIII.
16.

Joh. IX.
18.

Though Chrysostom opposed himself to the arrogance of a limited understanding, which denied the efficacy of faith, he was far from wishing to exclude the activity of human reason from seeking a more intimate acquaintance with the truths implanted in our minds by faith. He only desired, that reason should be conscious of its own insufficiency to comprehend the mysteries of religion; and that it should consider itself as a mere instrument to receive and turn to account the things imparted to it from a higher source. He thus declares himself upon this subject: "God hath given us reason, that it might learn and receive the things imparted to it by God, not that, unaided, it should deem itself to be sufficient. The eyes are beautiful and useful; but if they desire to see without light, their beauty and power will injure, not avail them. Thus is it with human reason. If it would see without the Divine Spirit, it will stand in its own way."

Hom. in
1. Cor. VII.

Among the lesser sects at Antioch, there were the Protopaschites,¹ who forsook not the custom, prevalent with many Christians of the East, before the time of the Nicene Council, with respect to the celebration of Easter. This custom consisted in the commemoration of the Passover, as of the last supper of Christ with his disciples, at the same time that the Jews, according to their calendar, held their festival of the Passover; in the commemoration of the sufferings of Christ on the following day, and of his resurrection on the third day, on whatever day of the week that day might chance to fall. The Antiochian Church had adopted the resolutions of the Nicene Council, which suppressed this ancient usage of the Jewish Christians, and determined, that the commemoration of the sufferings of Christ should invariably be held upon a Friday, and that of his resurrection upon the following Sunday; but a small party obstinately adhered to the old custom. Although in other respects they conformed to the mother Church, they nevertheless kept their fasts preparatory to the celebration of Easter, and the Easter festival itself, at a period different from that of the Established Church; and it frequently happened, that they were fasting, while the remainder of the community rejoiced in festive gladness. This difference, in itself unimportant, became notwithstanding injurious to the Church; and it was highly prejudicial to true Christianity, that so great an importance should be attached to distinctions merely external. Upon this last point Chrysostom gave much excellent advice in a sermon delivered for the instruction of this little party.

Εἰς τοὺς τα
πρῶτα πασ-
χα νηστευ-
οντας.

¹ Πρωτοπασχίται, the same, who were formerly called Quartodecimani, τεσσαρεσκαίδεκαίται.

When the Protopaschites reproached the remainder of the community with having formerly observed the same custom, Chrysostom replied to them: "Ye should not bring this charge against us; more justly might we bring it against you. Formerly we fasted at the same time with yourselves; *but we preferred union to the observance of times.* I say to you what Paul said to the Galatians: 'I beseech you, be as I am; for I am as ye are.' He wished namely to persuade them to dispense with circumcision, and not to regard too much the observance of sabbaths and days, and all the other institutions of the ceremonial law. When he perceived, that they feared to incur the punishment due to a transgression, he sought to encourage them by his own example. 'Am I,' asked he, 'descended from the heathen?' Was I ignorant of the discipline of the law, or of the punishment due to the transgressors of it? 'I am an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; concerning zeal, persecuting the Church; but what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ.' Christ held the Passover with the Jews, not that we should hold it with them, but that through the shadow he might bring in the truth. Learn from the judgment of the Lord himself, that with him the holding of times and the observance of such things are of no account: 'I was an hungred,' says he, 'and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me.' And he reproached them on the left hand with an opposite line of conduct. Again, he condemned the wicked servant for his want of mercy, saying unto him, 'Oh! thou wicked servant I forgave thee all that debt, because thou desir-

Hom. contra Jud. III.

Gal. IV. 12.

Philip. III. 5—7.

Matt. XXV. 35.

Matt.
XVIII. 32,
33.

Matt. XXV.
7.

Matt. XXII.
11.

edst me ; shouldst not thou also have had compassion on thy fellow-servant, even as I had pity on thee ?' Again, he shut out the virgins from the marriage, because they had no oil in their lamps. And on another occasion he excluded a man, because he entered not in a wedding garment. But we hear not that any were punished or reprov'd, for not having celebrated the Passover on this or on that month. What shall I say of us, who are freed from all such constraint, and have our conversation in heaven above, where there are no months ; where there is no sun, no moon, nor revolution of years."

Besides the various heretical sects, there dwelt at Antioch Jews and heathens, with whom the Christians necessarily came in frequent contact. The heathens consisted partly of persons belonging to the lowest class of society, a rude and ignorant people, who continued in the superstitions inherited from their fathers, and for whose instruction their Christian superiors and the clergy provided not according to their duty ; and partly of rich and distinguished men, who either would not abandon the worship of their ancestors, from which they imagined the splendour of the old Roman Empire to have been derived,¹ or who, indiffer-

¹ Such was, for instance, Symmachus, the Prefectus urbi, whose sensual cleavings to earth were so entirely opposed to Christianity, and manifested themselves in the following well-known words of his report to Valentinian II. concerning the statue of Victoria : " To this must be added utility, which beareth special witness of the Gods to man ; for since all the causes of things are hidden, whence sooner should arise a knowledge of the deities, than from the remembrance and experience of fortune ?" He then makes Rome thus address the Emperor : " This religion hath subjected the world to my laws." How very different was the opinion of St.

ent towards the higher concerns of man, lived on in the heathenism, wherein they had grown up, without thinking further upon religion, unless awakened from their sleep of spiritual death by some great contingency,¹ sufficient to

Augustin! *De civitate Dei*, Lib. V. c. 25: "In order," says he, "that no emperor should become a Christian, with the view of obtaining the good fortune of a Constantine—for every one should become a Christian purely for the sake of eternal life—God took to him Jovian much sooner than Julian, and left Gratian to fall by the sword of the usurper."

Augustin makes a good answer to the reproach, that Christianity had led to the decay of the Roman Empire. *Ep. V. ad Marcellinum*. (Ed. Basil.) After having represented in the language of a Sallust the corruption, which had arisen from the success of the Romans, he added: "Thanks be to our Lord God, who hath sent us especial aid against this evil; for whither would not that torrent of base iniquity have carried us, whom would it not have laid hands upon, into what an abyss would it not have sunk mankind, if the cross of Christ had not been lifted up higher and firmer by the power of so sublime a sight, that we might lay hold of and stand fast by the mightiness of its strength? For just at the moment, when the most corrupt manners met together, that heavenly spectacle came to our aid, which taught voluntary poverty, continence, justice, union, true holiness, and the other great and splendid virtues." "Let those, who assert that the doctrine of Christ is opposed to the welfare of the state, give us an army composed of warriors such as the soldiers of Christ should be, such freemen, such husbands, such parents, such sons, such lords, such slaves, such kings, such judges, such payers and even such receivers of taxes, as they should be according to the doctrine of Christ; and let them still contend, that this religion is opposed to the welfare of the state; yea, let them dare to deny, that this religion, were its precepts hearkened unto, would be a great salvation for the state."

¹ For instance, the attention of men was often drawn to Christianity, and they were awakened out of a state of religious indifference, from the depths of the darkest superstition, by remarkable dreams. Augustin says, *De Catechiz. Rud.* § 9: "It seldom happeneth, that any one cometh to be baptized, who is not moved thereto by some fear of God." (*Qui non sit aliquo Dei timore percussus.*) If we examine into the history of the extension of Christianity, we shall not

effect their conversion to Christianity. To some of them Heathenism was dear, because it

fail to find, that Providence often effected much by events, which in themselves appeared of no importance. Although, especially at this period, when the heathen were compelled, in such a variety of ways, to come in contact with Christians and Christianity, events might often be prepared by many preceding impressions upon their minds, without they themselves being conscious of the same, and be brought into action by the co-operation of external causes or inward suggestions; yet these were special acts of Providence, without which perhaps those events would never have taken place. Where there were inflammable materials, there needed only a spark to light them up: but without that, the materials would not have taken fire of themselves. The conversion of Gregory, the father of Gregory Nazianzen, affords a remarkable example of this, in the person of his wife, the pious Nonna. He had often heard her warm exhortations, and her prayers for the salvation of his soul, and had beheld the example of her godly life. These must have made a gradual impression upon his mind; but that, which immediately led to his conversion, was a dream, which his wife turned to a good account,—that she had sung to him the 1st verse of the 122d Psalm: “I was glad, when they said unto me: we will go into the house of the Lord.” In this manner the conversion of the Emperor Constantine, which was certainly more outward than inward, is most naturally and simply to be explained; instead of declaring, with a bold criticism, such a tradition, so generally spread and so worthy of belief, to be utterly false on account of some apparent contradictions, which were very natural in such an affair, or, with an unpsychological psychology, of attributing to him plans, which he never formed. But perhaps it would have been otherwise with the Christianity of this prince, if he had had men around him, who had known how to turn to advantage such an event, in the true Christian spirit of an Augustin, who gives the following advice for the treatment of one, who was in a similar manner awakened to a sense of religion. *De Catechiz. Rud.* § 10: “If any one answer, that he hath been reminded or awed by God to become a Christian, he affordeth us the most joyful opportunity of conversing with him concerning the Divine Providence and goodness. We must lead his mind from such wonders or dreams to the more steady path and surer awards of the Holy Scriptures, in order that he may know how mercifully God hath imparted to him, that before he could engage in reading the Scriptures, it must be shewn

required not a reformation of their sinful lives ;¹ and the feelings and tastes of others had become too much corrupted, by an education in the schools of the Rhetoricians,² to perceive the word of God in the plain language of the Bible, or to appreciate the simple doctrine of Christ. They reproached the apostles with a deficiency of Hellenistic learning, and therefore considered themselves at liberty to despise

to him that the Lord himself would not have reminded and encouraged him to become a Christian, or would not have instructed him by such signs and revelations, were it not the Lord's will that he should tread, as a sure path, the way prepared for him in the Holy Scriptures, wherein he is not to seek for visible miracles, but to hope for things invisible ; —not to be reminded while asleep, but when awake."

¹ Chrysostom alludes to such persons. Hom. in Joann. XXVIII. : "We hear even now from many heathen, that they cannot come over to our faith, because they cannot renounce drunkenness, fornication, and other sins."

² It may easily be supposed, that men, who came from such a school as that of Libanius, and whose tastes were corrupted by the jingle of rhetoric, experienced an inward disgust for that inelegant word, the "cross," that instrument of extreme punishment, as well as for the simple language of the Bible ; in the same manner as he, who has been fed upon sweetmeats, dislikes all solid and wholesome food. Augustin alludes to such half-educated persons, who came from the schools of the rhetoricians, and prided themselves, as is ordinarily the case, upon their superficial education. De Catech. Rud. § 13 ; "There are some, who come from the ordinary schools of the grammarians and rhetoricians, whom we can neither number among the ignorant, nor among those unlettered men, whose minds are intuitively exercised in inquiry into the most important subjects." "These men," says he, "must be especially instructed how to judge the Holy Scriptures, that its sound language may not appear contemptible, because it is not inflated." And Augustin says of himself and this age, when, having been educated in the rhetorical school, he desired to go over to the Bible : "My pride was alarmed by their humility, and my insight penetrated not their inward man. Their manner is to grow with the lowly ; but I held it beneath my dignity to be lowly, and puffed up with pride I seemed to myself great."

them. There were, however, among the heathen many, who strove to lead a moral life, and who might have been more easily won over to the Gospel, had the sanctifying influence of Christianity manifested itself in the lives of its professors with a power as convincing, and with an attraction as irresistible, as in the golden age of the primitive Church. But finding, in the lives of the great mass of those, who called themselves Christians, much, which even the morality of their ancient philosophers and their own natural feelings taught them to avoid, they thought they possessed something better in the doctrines of their wise men, than in Christianity; and they thus became filled with prejudice against the Gospel. Chrysostom often repeated to his audience, that at this period, when so many difficulties had been removed, which at first opposed the propagation of Christianity, the general conversion of the heathen was especially prevented by the fault of the Christians themselves; that disputation with the heathen was vain, if the lives of the Christians did not correspond to the doctrines they defended; and that it was chiefly by the excellence of their lives, that they could aspire to convert the heathen. We will hear what Chrysostom says upon this subject: "Let us overcome the heathen by the example of our lives, rather than by our words; that is the right manner of contention, that the incontrovertible proof,—the proof by deed. For if we philosophize with endless words, but in our lives discover ourselves not better than the heathen, we shall gain nothing. The heathen attend not to our words, but they prove our actions, and say: First act according to your own words, and then admonish others. But if thou say, that there

Hom. in
I. Cor. III.

are a thousand good things in futurity, and yet appear to cleave so closely to things present, as though there were nought to hope for after death, I shall believe thy actions more readily than thy words. When I see thee lay hold on the goods of another, mourn for the dead with extravagant grief, and commit many other sins, how can I believe in the resurrection thou declarest? If the heathen speak not these things, they think them and turn them over in their minds; and thus are the unbelievers hindered from becoming Christians. We must therefore draw them unto us by the example of our lives. In this manner have unlearned men subdued the minds of the philosophers, by revealing in their actions the truth of their wisdom; and by their lives have sent forth a voice louder than a trumpet; for holiness of life is more powerful than the tongue.¹ But if I say, evil should not be requited by evil, and then repay the evil a thousandfold upon the heathen, how can I win those by my words, whom I repel by my actions? Let us by our lives and conversation convert the heathen; *build up the church with their souls, and amass for it this treasure. Nothing is so precious as a soul,—not the whole world. If thou give a thousandfold to the poor, thou hast not done so much, as he who converteth one soul.* ‘He who taketh forth the precious from the vile, shall be,’ saith the prophet, ‘as my mouth;’ for it is a very good thing to have pity upon the poor, but not so great a thing, as to free a soul from error. The man, who doeth this, is like unto Peter and Paul. We may imitate them in preaching, without encounter-

Jer. XV. 19.

¹ και φωνην σαλπιγγος λαμπροτεραν δια της πολιτειας και φιλοσοφιας αφεντες, αυτη γαρ της γλωττης ισχυροτερα.

ing the same peril as they encountered,—without suffering famine, and pestilence, and other evils—for it is now a time of peace—if only we discover an equal willingness and zeal. We may sit at home, and yet in this manner extend our nets. Let him who hath a heathen for his friend, for his relation, for his fellow-servant, act as well as speak thus, and he will be like unto Peter and Paul. What do I say? like unto these? He will be the mouth through which Christ speaketh.”¹ Again: “Let us, then, lead a new life; let us make earth like unto heaven; and thereby shew to the heathen of how many blessings they are deprived; for if they see us lead holy lives, they will have before their eyes the kingdom of heaven. For if they behold before them men full of meekness, free from anger, evil passions, envy, and covetousness, and upright in all their dealings, they will say: If the Christians are angels here, what will they be when they have departed from this world? If they thus shine here, where they are strangers, what will they become when they have attained their home? *The raising of the dead effecteth not so much towards the conversion of the heathen, as doth the example of a holy life.* The one will fill them with astonishment; the other will be to them a real advantage. The one happeneth and is passed; the other endureth and worketh continually in their souls.” And again: “The heavens glorify not God by their voice, but by their aspect they incite men to glorify him; yet it is said of the heavens, that ‘they declare the glory of God.’ In like manner do those, who lead a holy life, praise God, though they be

Hom. in
Matt.
XLIII.

Hom. in
Rom.
XVIII.

Ps. XIX. 1.

¹ στόμα ἔσται τοῦ χριστοῦ.

silent; because through them others are led to offer up their praise. For the observation of the heavens contributeth not so much to fill the mind with veneration towards God, as doth the contemplation of a guileless life. When, therefore, we dispute with the heathen, *let us not bring forward the heavens, but the men, whom God hath called from a life worse than that of the brutes, that they might strive with angels. By appealing to this conversion, let us bring them to silence.* For a man is far better than the heavens, and he can gain for himself a soul, which shineth brighter than the splendor of the firmament. The heavens could not lead men to a worship of God, though they had been gazed upon during so many ages. Paul drew the whole world to God, though he preached for a short time; for he possessed a soul not inferior to the heavens, and which was able to draw all men unto him."

Many of the Christians observed, with uneasiness, that some of the heathens led a life consistent with the ordinary demands of morality, but that, nevertheless, they continued in heathenism. If there were, among the Christians, those to whom the true requisites of holiness were unknown, the idea obtruded itself upon them, that without being Christians, they might lead a good life and attain to eternal happiness. In allusion to those, who became thus troubled at beholding a heathen mild, virtuous, and benevolent, remain unconverted, Chrysostom observed: "He hath perhaps another disease of the soul, vanity, or sloth; he provideth not for his salvation, but thinketh that chance will guide all things to his advantage." Again: "Tell me not of those, who are by nature modest and discreet; for theirs is not holiness.

Hom. in
I. Cor. VIII.

Hom. in
Joann.
XXVIII.

But name to me those, who have to struggle with vehement passions, yet possess the power of controlling them.¹ Tell me not, that a man leadeth a sober life, and defraudeth no one of his property: this alone is not holiness; for of what avail is it, if a man do these things, and yet be the slave of vain glory? or continue in heathenism, because he is ashamed to desert his friends? This is not living righteously. The slave of ambition is not less wicked than the fornicator." And again: "Because Cornelius sought to do all that depended upon himself, God added thereunto that which was wanting. Say not, then, how can God suffer a sincere and good man, who is a heathen, to remain disregarded? In the first place: whether his heart be sincere no man can know, but he alone, who 'fashioneth all hearts.' And it must also be without doubt acknowledged, that he hath often been deficient in care and zeal. Wherever a man be, he can easily work out his salvation, if he be attentive, and make it not a secondary consideration; for have these things been limited to Palestine, or confined to a little corner of the earth? Have ye not heard what the prophet saith: 'They shall all know me, from the least of them unto the greatest of them.' See ye not how these words have been fulfilled? How, then, can they hope for pardon, who behold the true religion everywhere extended, and yet will not give themselves the trouble to become acquainted with it?" He at the same time cautioned his hearers against an idle inquiry into the ways of Providence, in which occupation men too easily forget the

Hom. in
Rom.
XXVI.

Ps. XXXIII.

Jer. XXXI.
34.

¹ Μη γαρ μαι τους απο φυσεως επιτης επιεικεις και κοσμιους (ουγαρ εστι τουτο αρετη) αλλ' ειπε τον πολλην απο των παθων υπομενοντα βιαν και φιλοσοφουντα.

performance of their own duties. "Let us not," said Chrysostom, "require an account from God, and ask wherefore he hath called one man, and suffered another to remain a heathen? We act, as doth a slave, who having incurred the displeasure of his lord, busieth himself about his lord's administration of the household. Wretched man! instead of thinking upon the account thyself hast to render, and the manner in which thou mightest conciliate thy lord, thou requirest an account concerning that, of which thou hast no account to render; and neglectest that, for which thou wilt have to suffer punishment."

Among the heathen were some of good education, who earnestly sought to obtain a sure and tranquillizing religious conviction, and who, after a careful examination of the doctrines of the Church, after continued researches in the Scriptures, and repeated conversations with learned divines, determined upon going over to Christianity.¹ At the same time there were others, who perceived indeed the falsehood of the heathen idolatry, but would not make the exertion of inquiring into the Christian doctrines, and excused themselves by affirming: that there were among the Christians so many sects, differing from each other, that it was difficult to know with whom the true Christian doctrine was to be found. Chrysostom called upon such persons diligently to search the Scriptures, as the only sure fountain of religious knowledge, and addressed to them the following words: "How can we, say the heathens, who know nothing of your doctrines,

Hom. in
Act
XXXIII.

¹ "Solent omnia diligenter inquirere et motus animi sui, cum quibus possunt, communicare atque discutere." Augustin de Catech. Rud. § 12.

judge concerning them? We are willing to become pupils, and ye would make us already teachers. If ye were desirous of learning the art of medicine, would ye, I ask, credit every thing which was stated to you? For also among physicians are many and various opinions. If, without examination, ye take for granted every thing ye hear, ye act not as becometh men; but, if ye have judgment and understanding, ye shall surely know the truth. Tell me, if ye would buy a garment, although ye understood not the art of making cloth, ye would not say: We know not how to buy; they will deceive us; but ye would do every thing to acquire information; and in like manner would ye exert yourselves, if ye wished to buy any other thing. Nevertheless, it is thus ye speak in the affairs of religion. According to this view of the question, ye will not receive any religion whatsoever. Take, for example, a man who professeth no religious creed. Suppose him to speak concerning the nations of the earth, as ye do concerning the Christians;—suppose him to say: they are a vast multitude, and have different religions; one is a heathen, another is a Jew, another is a Christian: no religion can be received of them, for they are at strife with each other. I am but a learner; I desire not to become a judge, nor to condemn any religion whatsoever. But with you such a pretext can have no admittance; for since ye have known how to reject the false religion,¹ ye will be able among the various doctrines to select the right one. Let us not seek for an excuse; our task is not difficult. Do ye wish me to prove to you, that this manner of reason-

¹ Idolatry.

ing is a mere excuse? Know ye not the things which ought to be done, and those which ought not to be done? Why then do ye not the things which ought to be done, instead of doing those things which ought not to be done?¹ *Do that which ye ought to do; and in a becoming state of mind seek the truth from God, and he will surely reveal it to you.*² God is no respecter of persons; but in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.' If there were one rule, according to which every thing were to be measured, it would not require much consideration; but it would be an easy matter to detect him who measured falsely. Thus is it in the present case."³

Act X. 34,
35.

As Christians of the lower classes came at times in contact with powerful and wealthy heathens, upon whom they were in many respects dependent, Chrysostom considered it his

¹ Chrysostom especially pointed out the practical preparation requisite for the perception of religious truth in opposition to the partial, theoretical, and doctrinal views of the Greek Church of that time. He says, Hom. in Matt. XXIV.: "It is impossible that a man, who leadeth a good life and is free from all passion, should be disregarded by God. Should he, perchance, be betrayed into error, God will quickly draw him unto the truth." In like manner did the bishops and clergy judge the character of Synesius, whom they desired to consecrate as bishop, although they were unable to convince him of the truth of many of the doctrines of the Church. They thought, that: "Conviction with regard to these points would follow the other virtues of the man, since divine grace could leave nothing unfinished." 'Ὡς ταις ἄλλαις τ' ἀνδρὸς ἀρεταῖς ἐψεται καὶ ταῦτα, τῆς θείας χάριτος μὴδὲν ἔλλειπες ἔχειν ἀνεχομένης. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. Lib. I. c. 15.

² Πραξὸν ἐκεῖνα (τα πρακτεα) καὶ ὄρθω λογισμῶ ζήτησον παρα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὸς σοι παντῶς ἀποκαλύψει.

³ Inasmuch as the Holy Scriptures have been given unto us.

Hom. in
Lucian.
Tom. II.
f. 529.

duty, in such cases, to exhort his audience, regardless of the consequences, boldly to confess their faith: "Should we be in the companionship of rich and illustrious heathens, let us freely confess our faith; and should they seek to exalt their religion, and to abase ours, let us not be silent, nor endure it meekly; but let us expose heathenism in all its shame, and set forth Christianity with much wisdom and confidence. And as the emperor weareth the diadem upon his brow, let us carry everywhere with us the confession of our faith; for the imperial crown adorneth not him so much, as faith and a confession of our faith adorn us."

Hom. in
I. Cor. IV.

Moreover, he exhorteth the Christians to observe gentleness and charity towards the heathen, and he warned them against the intrusion of passion, by which zeal, originally pure, is too easily clouded: "Let us, then, be affectionate towards the heathen, and gain their good-will; and in this we shall succeed, if we not only refrain from doing them an injury, but be even ready to suffer wrong from them. As fathers converse with their children, so let us converse with the heathen." Again: "He who loveth can never hate, be circumstances what they may; for love is his most precious possession. How then, say ye, if they be enemies or heathen, shall we not hate them? Hate not them, but hate their doctrines;—not the man, but his evil works, and the corruption of his mind. *For man is the work of God; but error is the work of Satan. Mingle not, therefore, the works of God with the works of Satan.* Lest fellowship should have been to the Jews an occasion of sin, they were commanded under the law, not only to hate iniquity, but likewise the doers of iniquity.

Hom. in
I. Cor.
XXXIII.

Wherefore God forbade them to make any covenant or marriage with the idolaters, and fortified them on every side. But now, that God hath led us to a better knowledge, and hath raised us to a height, where such peril can no longer harm us, he commandeth us to receive and comfort them;—not to hate, but to have compassion on them. For if ye hate the erring man, how can ye convert him? How can ye pray for the unbeliever? For that it is needful to pray for him, we are taught by the words of Paul, who saith: ‘I exhort, therefore, that, first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men;’ but that all men were not at that period believers must be clear to every one. Again, he saith: ‘for kings and for all that are in authority;’ but that these were idolaters and unbelievers is also manifest. Paul then mentioneth the cause of the prayer and subjoineth: ‘for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth.’ If we hate idolaters and unbelievers, we shall go further, and likewise hate sinners, and thus we shall become separated from the greater part, or rather from all of our brethren; *for there is none, no not one, without sin.* For if it behoved us to hate the enemies of God, we must not only hate unbelievers, but sinners likewise; and we should be worse than the wild beasts,—shunning all men, and puffed up with a pride, like unto that of the Pharisee. But Paul commanded not thus: ‘Warn them,’ he saith, ‘that are unruly; comfort the feeble-minded; support the weak; and be patient toward all men.’ What then, ye say, when he saith: ‘If any man obey not our word by this epistle, note

I Tim. II. 1.

— — 3, 2.

— — — 4.

I Thess. V.

14.

II Thess.
III. 14.

— 15.

that man, and have no company with him.'? This is particularly spoken concerning the brethren; yet even, in this respect, not without limitation, but so that it be done with gentleness; for thou must not leave out that, which followeth: 'yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.' See ye not then, that he hath enjoined us to hate the evil deed, but not the doer? *For it is the work of Satan to separate us from each other; and he is ever zealous to destroy love,* that he may cut off the erring man from the way of amendment; that he may detain *him* in his error; *thysself* in enmity towards him; and finally that he may shut him out from the path of his salvation. If the physician hate the sick man, and fly from him; and if the sick man turn away from the physician, when will the sick man be whole? Wherefore, tell me, do ye turn away, and fly, from him? Because he is ungodly? On that very account, ye should draw near, and seek to heal him; that the sick man may be restored to health. If his disease be incurable, still must ye perform your part. Judas was also incurably sick; but God desisted not, on that account, from working for his salvation. Be not therefore weary. For if, notwithstanding great zeal on your part, ye free him not from his impiety, God will still reward you, as though ye had delivered him; ye will call forth from the heathen admiration of your charity; and thus will all things fall out to the glory of God. For though ye should work miracles; raise the dead; or do aught besides; the heathen will never so greatly admire you, as when they shall behold you meek and gentle, and find in you a heart rich in love. Thereby shall your labors have much success; *for nought attracteth so*

greatly as love. On account of your miracles, they will envy you ; on account of your love, they will love and admire you ; but loving you, they will go farther, and receive the truth. If the heathen become not a believer instantly, be not astonished, nor in haste. Seek not all things at once. Suffer him awhile to praise you,—love you ;—and in this way, by degrees, he will be in the end converted. And, that this may be made manifest to you, hear how Paul defended himself before an unbelieving judge : ‘ I think myself happy, because I shall answer for myself this day before thee.’ He said not this to flatter him,—that was far from his intention ; but because he would gain him by gentleness ; and in part he gained him ; and he, who, till then, was deemed a criminal, made captive the judge, who himself confessed the victory with a loud voice, saying : ‘ almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian.’ What then did Paul ? He spread out his net wider, and said : ‘ I would, that not only thou, but also all, that hear me, were such as I am, except these bonds.’ What sayest thou, Paul ? except these bonds ? Where is then thy confidence, if thou be ashamed of these bonds, and fly them ? And that before so great an assembly ? Hast thou not boasted of these bonds throughout all thine epistles ? Hast thou not called thyself a prisoner ; and borne this chain around thee everywhere before us, as though it had been a diadem ? What hath now come to pass, that thou shouldst desire to be freed from these bonds ? I desire not, he might have answered, to be freed from them ; neither am I ashamed of them ; but I lower myself to the weakness of these men. They are not capable of comprehending my glory. But I have learnt from

Acts XXVI.
2.

— — 28.

— — 29.

my Saviour, not to mend an old garment with a piece of new cloth. For this reason have I spoken thus; because they are prejudiced against our religion, and hate the cross; and if I add thereunto these bonds, their hatred would be still greater. Therefore I have removed them, that the cross might be accepted. These bonds appear to them, as a reproach; because they have not tasted our glory. We must, therefore, lower ourselves to their understanding. Thus did he proceed step by step. No one, who leadeth another to an imperial palace, would urge him to look into its interior, while he stood without, and before he had surveyed the court of entrance. The stranger would not deem it worthy of his admiration, if he entered not into the interior of the palace, and inspected not everything. In like manner, let us treat the heathen with condescension and with love. For love is the great instructress; she has power to free men from error; to form their minds; to take them by the hand, and lead them on to wisdom; yea, out of stones to make men. Would ye know her power? Bring me a man cowardly, terrified at a noise, and trembling at a shadow; let him be violent and rude,—more brute, than man,—wanton and lustful,—deliver him into the hands of love; lead him into her school; and ye shall soon behold the coward transformed into a man of high spirit, and a fearless heart.”¹

¹ We will here compare with the above two similar passages from his homilies preached at Constantinople. Hom. in Coloss. XI. “Call not the Gentile fool without a cause, nor revile him. Should he question you concerning his religion, answer him, that it is a wicked and impious religion. But should no one question you, nor compel you to speak, it were foolish wantonly to draw down enmity upon yourselves. Again, if ye instruct any one concerning your faith, say what

He further counselled his hearers to avoid the vain trouble of demonstrating to scoffers upon grounds of reason, truths raised above human understanding, and which could only have been made known to men by revelation,—believing that their state of mind was unfitted for the reception of faith: “Ye must not seek by human reason to persuade those, who are thus minded, and if ye persuade them thus, ye will do the contrary; for the things, which are beyond reason, need faith alone: and if we would show by reason, how God was made man, and entered into the womb of the virgin, and entrust not these things to faith, we shall rather call forth their derision.” Having heard a Christian dispute with one of those heathens, who constantly placed their ancient philosophers in opposition to the Apostles, and observing, that the Christian sought to prove, that Paul excelled Plato in eloquence and learning, Chrysostom censured such a proceeding, and remarked, that: “the Christian contended against the very point which was most favorable to his cause; for since the Apostles, men, ignorant and gifted with no art of speech, could overthrow the systems of the ancient philosophers, and, amid so many difficulties, accomplish that

Hom. in
I Cor. IV.

Hom. in
I Cor. III.

the subject requireth, and no more. If a heathen seek you, and becometh your friend, discourse not with him concerning your religion, until his friendship for you be confirmed; and then, do it with gentleness.” This counsel was well fitted for the times; for the heathen, apart from all other considerations, were filled with distrust towards the Christians, because they were the ruling party. Again, Hom. in Act. Apost. XVII., “If we dispute with the Gentiles, let us silence them without anger, without harshness. For if we dispute with anger, we seem no longer to have confidence, but to be led by passion; but if we do so with gentleness, we manifest a true confidence. Where anger is, the Holy Spirit dwelleth not.”

which none of those philosophers had been able to effect ;—this of itself was the best proof, *that not human wisdom, but the grace of God had worked through them.*”

Hom. in
I Cor. VII.

With overpowering eloquence he painted in his discourse the operations of the Holy Spirit through the Apostles, that he might induce the heathen to confess the divine origin of Christianity. He says to them: “ We will prove, that it could not have entered into the minds of the Apostles, to declare the things, which they declared, had not Christ been with them. I will not mention against whom they had to contend,—*they, the weak, against the powerful ; they, the few, against the many ; they, the poor against the rich ; they, the ignorant, against the learned ;*—I will only name the mighty power of prejudice. For nothing is so powerful among men, as the tyranny of ancient custom. Thus had they not been merely twelve in number, and had they not been as inconsiderable, as they were, but had possessed a numerous party, even then they would have found it a heavy task. For their adversaries had on their side ancient usage ; novelty stood in the way of these men. Nought so greatly disturbeth the soul as the introduction of that, which is new and strange, were it even for the advancement of good, and especially, when it relateth to the worship and glory of God. It might have been supposed, that the various catechumens would have said to them : What meaneth this ? Have the inhabitants of the whole earth been deceived ? Sophists and rhetoricians, philosophers and historians of times both past and present ; Pythagoras and Plato, leaders, consuls, and emperors ? And are twelve men—fishermen, tent-makers, and publicans, wiser

than all these? and who could have endured to hear these things? But they neither spoke, nor thought thus; they listened to the teaching of the Apostles, *and confessed them to be the wisest of men*; and therefore the Apostles overcame them all. From the heathen themselves ye may learn the power of custom. Although Plato well knew, that the heathen worship was founded upon error, he condescended to attend the festivals and other Pagan rites; because he was unable to struggle against the force of custom; and of a truth he had learnt this from his master. For Socrates, when he was suspected of desiring innovation, was so little able to effect the object of his wishes, that he lost his life, although he made an apology. How many men do we behold, whom prejudice yet retaineth in heathenism, and who, when they are reproached on that account, can give no reasonable excuse for their conduct; but only appeal to their fathers, grandfathers, and ancestors! Hence the Gentiles call custom a second nature. But a still mightier obstacle than this stood in the path of the Apostles: they not only changed an ancient custom, and one which had been observed for ages; but they attempted the change in the midst of perils. They not only called upon men to exchange one custom for another; but they called upon them to desert usages fraught with security, for the sake of a cause, which brought with it a thousand perils. The believer had to expect the immediate loss of his possessions, and banishment from his native land; he had to endure extremity of suffering,—hated by all, and regarded as the common enemy both by his kindred and by strangers. To this must be added another circumstance, by which the difficulty of the change was in-

creased. Besides the force of custom, and the perils to which they were exposed, their demands upon men were more onerous; while on the other hand the religion from which they sought to withdraw them, required little moral restraint. They called them from fornication to chastity; from a love of life, to death; from drunkenness, to fasting; from laughter, to tears and contrition; from covetousness, to poverty; from security, to danger; and they required the utmost strictness in all the transactions of life. For thus spake Paul: 'Let neither filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not convenient, be once named among you.' They addressed these things to men, whose hours were consumed in feasting and drinking, who celebrated festivals, which consisted only in disgraceful scenes of laughter and buffoonery. And which of those, who were living in this manner of life, must not have been struck with terror, upon hearing such words as these: 'He that taketh not his cross, and followeth after me, is not worthy of me.' And: 'Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance with his father, and the daughter against her mother.' But not only were they not struck with terror, when they heard these words; but they rushed joyfully upon peril, and were emulous to fulfil the commands of God. By what motive were they thus impelled? Was it not evidently by the power of the Saviour, whom they preached? By what other power could they have won to severity of life, men, who were sunk in luxury and pleasure? But might it not have been the precepts of their religion, which attracted the multitude? Even these were of a nature to repel the unbe-

Ephes. v.
3, 4.

Matt. X. 38.

Matt. X.
34, 35.

lievers. For what did the teachers of the Gospel proclaim? That men should adore the crucified: that men should acknowledge as God, him, who was born of woman in Judea. And to whom could these things have brought conviction, had it not been for the influence of divine power? For that Christ had been crucified and buried, had been seen by all; but that he had arisen from the dead, and ascended to heaven, had been witnessed only by the Apostles. It may be urged, that they allured men by their promises, and deluded them by high sounding words. This circumstance would alone be sufficient to prove, that there is no deception in our cause; for its first aspect was marked by sufferings of every kind,—bliss alone was promised after the resurrection. This, I repeat, proveth, that our religion is from God. For whence doth it arise, that not one of the believers said: I cannot accede to this;—ye threaten us with sufferings here on earth, and the good things ye promise us after the resurrection. Whence is it manifest that there will be a resurrection? Which of the departed hath returned again? Which of the buried hath arisen? And which of the believers inquired of the Apostles: What shall become of us after our departure hence? They thought not upon such things, but they gave up their lives for the crucified. Surely this gave proof of a mighty power,—that they could bring conviction of such great truths to men, who had never heard of the like before; and that they could persuade them immediately to undergo the suffering and the peril, and to possess the blessings only in hope. Had their object been to deceive, how different would have been their conduct! They would have promised the blessings as a present

enjoyment,—the terrors both here and hereafter they would have passed over in silence. Again it may be replied: Those, whom they convinced, were slaves, women, nurses, and eunuchs. But that the Church was not exclusively composed of such persons, is clear to every one. This is another proof of the divine power of their preaching—that fishermen could forthwith persuade the most ignorant of mankind to receive doctrines, which were beyond the attainment of Plato and the philosophers. It would not have been so wonderful, had they convinced only men of cultivated understanding. But that they could impart to slaves, nurses, and eunuchs a wisdom so divine, that it made them like unto angels, is the greatest proof of the operation of the Holy Spirit.”

Chrysostom wishing to explain, wherefore the Acts of the Apostles were read in the churches, between Easter and Whitsuntide, and, according to ancient usage, were not read after the celebration of the latter festival, although the events related in that book were of subsequent occurrence, assigned, as a reason, that the recital of the miracles and mighty works wrought by the Apostles was that part of the New Testament most closely connected with the festival of Easter, in as far as it gave the strongest assurance of the truth of the resurrection of Christ. He thus observes: “Christ performed miracles; he raised the dead; he cleansed lepers; he cast out devils: he was afterwards crucified; and, as the wicked Jews say, he arose not from the dead. What then shall we say to them? If he arose not, whence came it, that greater miracles were afterwards wrought in his name? For no one, who ever lived, wrought after his decease miracles greater

than before. But here they became more wonderful both in the manner of their performance, and their own nature. In their own nature, because the shadow of Christ never awakened the dead; but the shadow of an Apostle performed many such miracles. In the manner of their performance, because, before the crucifixion, Christ wrought the miracles by his own personal presence; but, after the crucifixion, they were his servants, who, by virtue of his holy and adorable name, performed greater and sublimer miracles; and thus his power shone forth more gloriously; for it was the same power, which wrought both before and after the crucifixion,—first, directly from himself; afterwards by means of his disciples. But should our adversary deny, that the Apostles wrought miracles, still more will he enhance their power, and the efficacy of divine grace, if indeed, without miracles, they converted so great a portion of the earth to godliness. Do ye desire, yourselves, even in your own days, to behold miracles? I will shew you a miracle, greater than any wrought before—not merely one dead man raised to life—not merely one blind man restored to sight; *but so many nations scraping off the leprosy of sin, and cleansed by the washing of regeneration.* We learn from common experience, that oftentimes a man, who had been kindly disposed towards another during life, scarcely remembereth him, after he is departed; much more surely would one forget him, who had been but ill-disposed to him, and had forsaken him, while alive. But behold, what never had been known before, occurred with respect to Christ and his Apostles; those, who, during his life had deserted and denied him, after the manifold insults which were heaped upon him, and after his

Acts V. 15.

death upon the cross, regarded him with so great a devotion, that for the sake of confessing him, and of testifying their faith, they laid down their lives. And can it be reasonably imagined, that, had Christ not risen from the dead, those, who fled on account of the threatening danger, while he was yet in life, would after his death, have exposed themselves for his sake to a thousand perils ?”

In a sermon, or rather a treatise, against the Arian heresies, in which he endeavored to express himself clearly, that he might, according to his own words, be understood by slaves, mariners and peasants, he introduces the existence of the Christian Church, and facts, which were obvious to all men, as proofs of the divine power of Christ: “If the heathen inquire, whence is it manifest, that Christ is God,—for this must be first established, as all the rest followeth thereupon,—we must not bring our proofs from the heavens, or the like. For were I to tell them, that he created the heavens, the earth, and the sea; the heathen will not endure it. If I were to say, that he raised the dead, restored sight to the blind, and cast out evil spirits, neither will he admit this. Again, were I to say, that he hath promised us a kingdom, and those unspeakable joys; or to speak concerning the resurrection;—not only will he not endure this, but he will deride it. How then, shall we convince him, particularly, if he be rude and ignorant. How, but by those facts, which we both in common admit, and which cannot be questioned: *that Christ himself planted the Christian race; and founded the Churches of the whole world.* Hence we may prove his power; show that he is the true God; and affirm, that it was not possible for a mere

man, in so short a time, to pass over so great a portion of the habitable globe, so much land and sea, and to bid mankind to such high callings, when they were held captive by foolish customs, and ensnared by such great iniquity. And yet he was able to free the race of man from all these evils, not only the Romans but likewise the Persians ; in short, all the Gentiles of the earth. And he effected this, not by the use of arms ; not by the distribution of riches ; not by the march of armies ; not by the kindling of wars ; but in the beginning, by eleven men, ignoble, low, unlearned, simple, poor, naked, without arms, without shoes, and clothed with a single garment. What do I say ? that he effected these things ? He was able to bring over so many nations to know not only things present, but things to come ; to do away with the laws of their fathers ; to pull up by the roots the customs of the remotest times ; to plant others in their stead ; and by easy lessons to instil into their minds his more difficult precepts ; and he did this, when all were embattled against him, and mocked him for having endured the cross and a death of shame. The heathen cannot deny, that he was crucified by the Jews ; that he underwent a thousand persecutions at their hands ; that his preaching daily groweth ; and strange to say, not only in the Roman world, but also among the Persians,—although now persecuted by them ; for among them also at this very hour are to be found many bands of martyrs. And yet they, who were wilder than the very wolves, having received that preaching, have become gentler than lambs, and discourse, like philosophers, upon the hidden wisdom of the resurrection, immortality, and those unutterable joys.

Yea, that accursed, that abhorred thing, the emblem of the law's utmost penalty, is now become the object of longing and of love. For the imperial diadem graceth not the brow so much, as doth the cross, more precious far than the whole world. For that, which aforetime men shuddered at, now the very form of it is so sought by all, that we behold it everywhere, among princes and subjects, among men and women, among maidens and matrons, among bond and free ; for all habitually stamp it on that part of us which is most conspicuous, and upon their front, as though it were a triumphal column, do they daily bear it about emblazoned. This symbol glisteneth upon the holy table, this at the consecration of the priests, this again with the body of Christ at his mystical supper. This you may see exalted in houses, in market places, in deserts, on the highways, in ships upon the sea, on the tops of mountains, in the depths of forests, upon garments, upon weapons, at feasts, upon vessels of silver and gold, upon pearls, in pictures upon the walls, upon the bodies of sick beasts,¹ upon the bodies of those possessed by evil spirits ; in war and in peace, by day and by night, as well in the dances of

¹ This relates to the custom among Christian shepherds, of making the sign of the cross upon those of their flock, which were sick, or upon those, which were not yet infected, in order to preserve them from disease. This appears from the poem of Severus, which was probably written about this period. The heathen shepherd asks the Christian, why his herds were preserved from the raging pestilence ? and the latter answers :

*Signum, quod perhibent esse Crucis Dei,
Magnis, qui colitur solus in urbibus,
Christus, perpetui gloria Numinis,
Cujus filius unicus.
Hoc signum, mediis frontibus additum,
Cunctarum pecudum certa salus fuit.*

the joyous, as among the fraternities of penitent ascetics. Gladly then would I ask the heathen, wherefore the sign of this so great condemnation, of this accursed death, is so longed for,—is desired so eagerly, unless great were the power of the crucified? Nay, that very wood, on which the holy body was stretched and crucified, why do all so earnestly contend

The sign they call the Cross of God,
 Who alone is worshipped in great cities,
 Christ, the glory of the Everlasting Power,
 His only Son.

This sign, impressed upon the middle of the forehead,
 Is a sure preservation to all cattle.

Since men easily forget the invisible in the visible sign, although the latter was originally an expression of the inward soul, many ascribed to the *opus operatum* of signing the cross such supernatural effects, as they should only have ascribed to the true believing piety of a holy mind, and, in the expectation of remarkable effects therefrom in the material world, they forgot the heavenly fruits of faith. This was not however the case with the Christian Shepherd of Severus; for the following context justifies himself, and those who thought as he did, from the charge of superstition :

————— *Si tamen hunc Deum
 Exorare velis: credere sufficit.
 Votum sola fides juvat.
 — Simplex animi purificatio.
 Optatis fruitur bonis.*

————— But if thou wouldst supplicate
 This God: it sufficeth to believe.
 Faith alone furthereth the prayer.
 — the simple purification of the mind
 attaineth the desired good.

This induces the heathen shepherd to become a Christian; for he concludes thus :

*Nam cur addubitém, quin homini quoque
 Signum prosit idem perpete sæculo
 Quo vis morbida vincitur?*

For why should I doubt that this same sign,
 Through which the morbid power of disease is overcome,
 Should also avail man for ages everlasting?

for it? Yea! many, both men and women, taking a little portion of it, and setting it in gold, hang it around their necks as an ornament; and yet that wood was the symbol of condemnation, and the extremest penalty. They who with a nod changed the fate of states and cities, and peoples; they the lords of life and death, are after death forgotten. But in Christ all is reversed; for before the cross his cause was downcast: Judas betrayed him; Peter denied him; the rest fled; he was taken alone among his enemies; many, who had believed, went backward. But when he was slain, that ye may learn, that the crucified was no mere man, all became brighter far and more exalted. Before the crucifixion, the very chiefest of the Apostles could not endure the threatening even of a door-maid; but even after having been admitted to such high insight, denied, that he knew him. After the crucifixion, he compassed the world. Thenceforward were slain ten thousand nations of martyrs, choosing rather to die, than to utter what the chiefest of the Apostles uttered, fearing the threat of one maid. Since that period, high and low, learned and ignorant, barbarians, and all the varied races of men, have confessed the crucified throughout the lands and cities of the whole earth.”¹ After

¹ In another place, in which Chrysostom speaks of the victory of Christianity, he introduces the following remarkable passage: Hom. II. ad Corinth. XXVI. “Say, where is the tomb of Alexander? Shew it me, and tell me the day upon which he died. But splendid are the tombs of the servants of Christ (of Peter and Paul) in the queen of cities (Rome), and the days of their deaths are celebrated as festivals by the whole world. The tombs of the followers of the cross are more resplendent than the halls of kings, not only in their extent and beauty, (although in this respect they are superior) but what is more, in the zeal of those, who flock thither; for he, who is clothed in purple, goeth to

describing the extension of Christianity among the Scythians, Mauritanians, and Indians, Chrysostom exclaims: "Nay, even beyond our world; for the British Islands, which lie beyond our seas, in the very ocean, have felt the power of the divine word. There, likewise, have churches and altars been erected." He justly brings forward, as a proof of more than human foresight, the prophecies of our Saviour concerning the destinies of his Church, particularly in their relation to the circumstances, under which he pronounced them. "Twelve disciples only followed him. The idea of a church had not even presented itself to the mind of man; for the synagogue was still flourishing. What did he then prophecy, when almost the whole world was sunken in ungodliness? 'Upon this rock will I build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' Examine, sift, turn this saying as thou wilt, and thou shalt see its truth shine forth. For neither is this the only wonder, that he hath built up a church throughout the whole world; but that

Idem. f.576.

Idem. f.574.

Matt. XVI.
18.

kiss them, and, laying aside his pomp, standeth a suppliant, and conjureth the saints, that they should intercede for him with God; and he, whose brows are encircled with the diadem, imploreth the tent-maker and the fisherman, even though they are dead. It is a glorious sight to see the emperor covered with gold, a crown upon his head, and surrounded by his generals, prefects, tribunes, centurions, and prætors. But in the former sight thou beholdest so much more that is august and awful, that the latter appeareth in comparison to it the mere sport of children. No sooner hast thou passed the threshold, than the spot lifteth up thy mind to heaven, to the king above, to the army of angels, to the throne of the highest, to everlasting glory. The emperor indeed commandeth his prefect, to free one subject and to imprison another. The bones of the saints have not this poor and nether power, but they have one much greater. They arrest and torture devils, and liberate them, who are bounden in these bitterest of chains."

he hath made her unconquerable,—unconquerable, though harassed by so many wars.”

Chrysostom had not only to contend *with heathenism, as opposed to Christianity, but likewise with heathenism, which had introduced itself into the church.* Paganism had been interwoven with the whole of civil and social life, and many usages and institutions, derived from the ancient superstition, naturally remained, of which some could only be gradually removed by the transforming influence of Christianity, whilst others received a new significance by the power inherent in that religion to animate old forms with a new spirit.¹ The church of the first centuries observed the principle of removing everything, which seemed to be in the remotest degree connected with heathenism; and certainly the strict maintainance of this principle greatly conduced to preserve purity, both of religion and morals, among the early Christians. But even the primitive Church had scarcely been able to restrain its members from participating in many customs of heathen origin. Still greater in the days of Chrysostom was the difficulty of pre-

¹ Already in the primitive Church there was a dispute concerning the extent, to which one might, as a citizen, adopt the heathen manners and customs; and how far they were to be avoided, as being connected with idolatry, and opposed to the essence of Christianity. While one party was too lax and interpreted too widely and vaguely the assertions; that one must not give occasion to disorders, or calumnation of the Christian name; that one must be everything to every one in order to win all; another party was immoderately severe. We are made acquainted with this dispute particularly from the book of Tertullian *de Idolatria*. This same dispute was afterwards renewed in China between the Jesuits and Dominicans; and now similar collisions between Christianity and the institutions and manners emanating from heathenism occur in the planting of Christian Churches in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, as may be seen from the reports of the English Missionaries.

venting the Christian and the heathen usages from being blended together. At that period the church was composed of men totally opposed to each other in country, habits and opinions; some had received an education partly Christian, partly heathen; others had been induced by worldly motives to profess themselves Christians, although strangers to the real spirit of Christianity. The church stood not then, as in the earlier times of its existence, opposed to the state; but had become, in a certain degree, incorporated with it; although the conversion of the Emperors had not succeeded in rendering the state really Christian; and lastly, the bishops exercised not the same strict vigilance, which they had formerly observed, and oftentimes connived at the faults of the rude heathen multitude, they had but lately converted. Thus placed in the closest contact, Christianity and heathenism presented a striking contrast to each other, especially in a great metropolitan city, such as Antioch; and occasioned much uneasiness to all true Christians.¹

¹ Chrysostom, in speaking among other things of the gladiatorial games, and combats of wild beasts, represents the difference between heathen and Christian institutions,—the former being both founded in immorality, and leading to it. He says, *How.* in I Cor. XII. “They teach the people to be merciless, cruel, and inhuman; and accustom them to behold men torn in pieces, to the sight of blood, and to the mad rage of wild beasts. And all these evils your wise lawgivers introduced from the beginning, and our cities applaud and wonder.” The Christian Church from its first commencement, evinced its disgust of these exhibitions of cruelty, and if any one were led away to view them, he was, in the primitive times excluded from a communion with the church. The Emperor Constantine, although inferior with regard to his moral conduct to many heathen emperors, who had permitted, that those Christians *only*, who had been convicted of offences against the religion of the state, should be used for combats with the wild beasts, was induced by the philantro-

The commencement of the Roman year was ushered in by a festival, which was celebrated with many heathen rites.¹ The celebration of the principles of Christianity to forbid the sanguinary spectacles first, A.D. 325 (*cruenta spectacula in otio civili et domestica quiete non placent*). But no law could subdue the cruel disposition of the Roman people. The Christian poet Prudentius called upon the Emperor Honorius, whose father, Theodosius, had abolished the combats of wild beasts, in which men were sacrificed, to forbid also the gladiatorial shows. C. Symmach. Lib. II.

Tu mortes miserorum hominum prohibeto litari ;
Nullus in urbe cadat, cujus sit pœna voluptas !

A monk, named Telemachus, urged by the strongest feelings of humanity, travelled from the East to Rome, in order to put an end to these cruel games, rushed in the midst between the combatants, and separated them from each other, but became a sacrifice to the rage of the people. This induced the Emperor Honorius to issue a new law against these gladiatorial games, if the account of Theodoret is to be depended upon. Hist. Eccles. Lib. V. c. 26. How different appears the highly-esteemed Symmachus, and who was certainly distinguished by a warm love of his country, to those men, whose hearts were filled by Christianity with love for all men as their brethren, and with zeal for the common dignity and rights of mankind ; when he relates, with disgusting coolness, that twenty-nine Saxons had killed themselves in prison, in order not to spill their blood in the gladiatorial games for the amusement of a cruel people. Symmach. Lib. II. Ep. 46. Thus did the prevalence of political feeling, such as it existed among the Romans,—that idolatrous love of their country,—lead to the suppression of the tenderer emotions, and to the denial of the common rights of man. Even the love of our country, when it becomes a passion subversive of all other feelings, discovers itself in its operations as a mere refined and enlarged selfishness. But this feeling, like every other founded in human nature, is not to be annihilated by Christianity, but to be sanctified and glorified by that principle of divine love, which alone is able to overcome selfishness, and hallow the source of all human emotions. The Christian's love of his country is the love of God, and necessarily subordinate to the love of mankind, and the general brotherly love of Christians.

¹ The heathen celebration of this festival is particularly described in Libanius. *Ἐκφρασις καλανδῶν*. Vol. VI. f. 1053.

this festival was the more easily transmitted to the Christians, because it was intimately connected with the civil institutions of the empire. The highest offices of state were then entered upon by those appointed to fill them,—on which occasion many festivities were given to the common people. The celebration of this festival was therefore more general, than that of other festivals throughout the whole Roman empire. It continued from the last day of December until the 6th of January, and this whole period was devoted to an excess and licentiousness, which the moral spirit of Christianity could ill endure. The first day of January was particularly distinguished from the other festive days. The night preceding this day was spent by many in dissolute and tumultuous companionship, and in a state of intoxication they entered upon the first day of the year, on which to be drunken was regarded as no disgrace, but rather as a favourable omen; for it was believed, that he who passed this day in conviviality might rest assured, that no evil fortune would befall him throughout the year. Men and women early in the morning quaffed goblets of wine. On this day both high and low presented each other with gifts; the houses and public places were illuminated, and crowned with flowers and wreaths of laurel. The mechanics and artizans adorned their shops; and emulated one another in exposing to view their choicest works. The whole day was spent in games, tumult, and jesting. Divinations and omens respecting the events of the new year, were eagerly sought for in conformity to heathen superstition.

All Christian festivals had originally reference to the crucifixion, resurrection, and glorification of the Redeemer, and through him to the future

bliss and glorification of man ; they related only to the eternal salvation of mankind, not to things temporal and earthly. Festivals therefore, which merely referred to the arbitrary limitation of time, which fixed the termination of one year, and the commencement of another, were entirely foreign to the considerations, which had given rise to the festivals of the early Church. To this must be added the heathen origin of the festival, the Pagan superstitions connected with it, and the licentious excesses, to which it gave occasion. But as the celebration of this festival was closely united with the taste and habits of the people, the early Church had vainly endeavored to withdraw the Christians from a participation in its festivities. At length it was deemed advisable to assemble the Christians on this day in the churches ;¹ forcibly to remind them of their religious duties, which were exposed on this occasion to so many temptations ; and thereby to withdraw them from taking part in Pagan superstitions and excesses. With this view Chrysostom held an eloquent discourse.

Having reproached the Christians with the diversions of the preceding night, which ill became the seriousness and decorum enjoined by

¹ Augustine desired, that the forty-seventh verse of the 106th Psalm, should be sung on that day : " Save us, O Lord our God, and gather us from among the heathen, to give thanks unto thy holy name." And, at the close thereof, he exhorted his congregation to set forth in their lives the sentiment expressed therein : " In order to follow the example of the Redeemer, who hath purchased you with his blood, be not conformed to the heathen either in your manners or your actions. They give presents (strenas) on the new-year ; give ye alms. They entertain themselves with songs of lustfulness ; entertain yourselves with the reading of the Scriptures. They hasten to the theatre ; hasten ye to the church. They drink, do ye fast ; and if ye cannot fast this day, eat at least with moderation. So shall ye have

their religion, he thus alludes to the rejoicings of the day : “ Decorate not the workshops, but your souls ; not the market-place, but your minds ; that the angels may admire, the arch-angels approve, and the Lord of the angels reward thee with the gifts laid up by him.”

Hom. in.
Kal. Jan.

He then censures the superstition of rendering the commencement of the year an omen for the good or evil fortune of the whole year : “ Have ye not heard what Paul saith ? ‘ Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain.’ Moreover it were the extreme of folly to expect good fortune throughout the year from the good fortune of a single day ; nor were it folly merely, but the very suggestion of the devil, to refer the character of our lives, *not to our own exertion and zeal*, but to the mere revolution of days. The whole year will be to you fortunate—not if ye be drunken at the new moon of the first month, but if upon the new moon and every day, ye do that which is pleasing to God. Each day is good or evil, not through any character of its own ; for one day differeth not from another day, *but as we are diligent or slothful*. If ye work righteousness,

Gal. IV. 10,
11.

sung that verse in a becoming manner.” Leo the Great, considered it to be an old regulation of the Church,—he calls it an apostolical tradition,—that days of fast and repentance, together with contributions in the churches, should be opposed to the heathen festivals. Sermo VII. : “ Ut quoties cæcitas paganorum superstitionibus esset intentior, tunc præcipuè populus Dei orationibus et operibus pietatis instaret.” While Leo forbid a participation in the heathen rejoicings, especially masqueries in the likeness of idols and beasts, he was called upon to reply to the excuse : that such was only a civil, and not a heathen celebration of the new year. He says, Sermo 105 : “ Vota sint hæc jocorum, et hoc esse novitas lætitiæ, non vetustatis errorem, esse hoc anni principium, non gentilitatis offensam.”

the day will be to you good ; if sin, then it will be evil, and full of condemnation. If ye be thus wisely minded, the whole year will be to you happy, when ye pray and give alms day by day. But if ye neglect your own virtue, and entrust the joy of your souls to the beginnings of months, and to the numbering of days, ye will find yourselves bereft of every blessing." "The Christian," he further says, "must keep not festivities of months, or new-moons, or Lord's days ; but he must pass his whole life in one continuous festival, conformable to his calling. And the nature of that festival we may learn from Paul, who saith : ' Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness ; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.' If there-
 1 Cor. V. 8. fore thou have a pure conscience, thou keepest a perpetual feast, nourished by good hope, and with the rich abundance of the expectation of future blessedness ; but if thy heart condemn thee, thou wilt be no better than a mourner amid a thousand feasts and festive assemblies." He next points out the manner in which Christians ought to celebrate the commencement of the year : " When thou seest the year completed, thank the Lord, for having introduced thee into this circle of years. Have sorrow in thine heart ; tell over the days of thy life, and say to thyself : The days hasten onwards, the years pass by, a great part of my pilgrimage is accomplished. Have I performed any good ? Shall I depart hence destitute of righteousness ? The judgment of God is at hand ; life vergeth towards old age."

" The observing of days," he continues, " is not of Christian wisdom, but Pagan delusion. In the celestial city art thou enrolled ; to the

kingdom dost thou belong; with angels hast thou been united; where there is no light ending in darkness, no day terminating in night; but a perpetual day, an eternal light. Thitherward then let us continually direct our eyes; for 'Seek,' he saith, 'those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.' Thou hast nothing in common with the earth, to which changes of years and days belong. To let yourselves be governed by such days, to look for greater pleasures upon them, to light the lamps in the market-place, and to wreath garlands, all this is childish folly. For thou hast been set free from such weakness, hast been enrolled among men, and art inscribed in the kingdom above. Kindle not an earthly flame in the market-place, but a spiritual light in thy soul. 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.' Crown not the doors of thine house with garlands, but let the course of thy life be such, that thou mayest receive on thy head the crown of righteousness from the hand of Christ, and that, as Paul hath commanded, 'every thing may be done to the glory of God.'" He dwells upon these last words, and shews, that all the actions of life lead to good, if they be undertaken for the love and honor of God: "So then if any, albeit a spiritual action, be done not for God's sake, it injureth most grievously the doer; so, when it is done for God's sake, will it, although it be a worldly matter, benefit him most greatly, who doeth it with a God-loving disposition." He then introduces as an example the Prayer of the Pharisee, and closes with the following fine passage: "Let us adopt these words, as the rule of our whole lives: 'Whether therefore ye

Coloss. III.
1.

Matt.V. 16.

I Cor.X.31.

eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.' Whether therefore we pray, or fast, accuse or pardon, praise or blame, go out or come in, buy or sell, be silent or converse, or whatsoever we do, let us do all to the glory of God; and if there be aught, which advanceth not the glory of God, let it not be done,—let it not be so much as once named among us. Let us, wheresoever we may be, carry along with us these words inscribed in our minds; let them be to us a strong staff, a defence and a security, an unspeakable treasure; so that when we have done and said, and engaged in every thing to the glory of God, we may obtain that glory which he bestoweth, both in this present life, and after our departure hence: 'for them that honor me, I will honor.'" Chrysostom succeeded through the impression made by this sermon to withdraw many from taking part in these Pagan excesses: "Yesterday," said he to them, in a sermon on the following day; "Yesterday, which was a festival of Satan, ye have changed into a spiritual feast, having received my words with much good will, and spent here a great part of the day." He commenced this sermon by exhorting them to make a point of reclaiming their brethren, who had been led away by these heathen excesses, and not to suffer themselves to be deterred from this duty by the first failure of their efforts. He reminded them of the love of God, and of the Saviour, which never ceases to labor for the conversion of man: "Let us consider the things, which happen unto ourselves. We hear God daily speaking to us through the Prophets and the Apostles; nor doth he desist from calling upon us, and exhorting us, although we are ever negligent and rebellious." He then held up the history of

I Cor.X.31.

I Sam. II.
30.

Hom. in
Lazar. I.

Lazarus and the rich man, as a warning to those, who had at this festival resigned themselves to pleasure: "For as long," he says, "as this festival shall continue, and Satan shall inflict the wounds of drunkenness upon the souls of the revellers, so long it behoveth us to apply remedies."

Many Christians of the Antiochian church attached great importance to signs, drawn from certain accidental circumstances, — the *omina* which had been so attentively observed among the Romans. A belief in the wonderful efficacy of amulets, and in the power of curing diseases by means of magic incantations, — superstitions which had prevailed in the East from the remotest times, — could with difficulty be entirely suppressed even among the Christians. Chrysostom forcibly combatted these errors, and after the example of St. Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, endeavored to eradicate them by representing Christ as the sole ground of hope and assurance to believers, and by directing to heaven those feelings of religion, which superstition had chained to earth. In a sermon addressed to catechumens, preparatory to their Baptism, he warned them against retaining heathen superstitions, and called their attention to the important meaning of the solemn renunciation used at baptism: "I renounce thee Satan and all thy works." Among the works of Satan are to be included omens and the observances of particular days.¹ If when departing from our houses we meet a lame or a one-eyed man, and take thence an omen, that is a work of Satan; for it is sin alone — not the meeting of a man — which can render a day evil.

Cateches.
ad illum.
II. Tom. II.

¹ Κληθόνισμοι και συμβολα.

to us. When therefore ye go forth from your houses, guard against one thing only, that ye fall not in with sin. It is sin, which allureth us to our ruin; without sin, Satan hath no power to injure us. God commandeth you to love even your enemies; but ye would shun him, who hath not offended you. What shall we say to those, who make use of amulets, and magic sentences; or who bind the brazen coins of Alexander the Great around their heads and feet? Tell me; are these our grounds of security? Shall we after the crucifixion of our Lord rest our hopes of salvation upon the image of a heathen king? Are ye ignorant of the mighty things which the cross hath achieved? It hath overcome death, hath extinguished the dominion of sin; it hath dissolved the power of Satan; and will ye not confide to it the health of your bodies. It hath raised the whole world, and trust ye not therein? Ye suffer frenzied old women to enter your houses, and to encircle you with magic sentences, and, after having been instructed in the sublime doctrines of Christ, ye are not ashamed to tremble at such things. And when we admonish you to desist from these sinful practices, ye fall into a worse error, and think to justify yourselves by saying: She, who maketh use of these incantations is a Christian, and she pronounceth no other name, but the name of God. For this reason do I turn from her with the greater abhorrence, because she maketh use of the name of God to dishonor God, and because calling herself a Christian, she performeth the works of the heathen. Wherefore I exhort you to maintain yourselves free from these delusions, and to rest upon the words of your baptismal covenant, as upon a secure staff. Before ye pass the thresholds of your

houses, pronounce these words: 'I renounce thee, Satan, thy pomps and thy service; and I turn to thee, O Christ!' With these words make the sign of the cross upon your foreheads, then shall no man, whom ye meet, have power to harm you;—not even Satan himself, if he behold you girded with these weapons." The sense of this passage may be gathered from the context. Chrysostom was well aware, that the outward act of signing the cross is incapable of producing this effect. He regarded that act merely as the expression of a heart filled with seriousness and faith, which turns away from the service of the devil, and devotes itself entirely to the victorious Redeemer, by whom that evil one was vanquished; and he therefore immediately afterwards designates the sign of the cross, as the armour of the Christian combatant, — the sign of Christ's triumph over Satan.¹ It may perhaps be thought, that in the above passage Chrysostom has not sufficiently distinguished between the subjective and the objective, between the symbol and its signification, between the outward sign impressed upon the forehead, and the operation of faith within the heart; but having on another occasion designated the cross as the symbol of victory, he adds: "It is the sign of our salvation, the token of our common deliverance, and of the meekness of our Lord; for 'he was led as a sheep to the slaughter.' When therefore ye make this sign, consider the whole signification of the cross; extinguish anger, and every evil passion; *make the sign with a fearless aspect and a free heart.* Ye well know the

Isa. LIII. 7.
and Acts
VIII. 32.

¹ 'Ἰνα ὅταν τὴν σφραγίδα λαβῆς, ἐμπαρασκευὸς ᾖς στρατιωτῆς καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοῦ διαβόλου τροπαίου στησῆς.

things, which confer liberty upon the Christian. Wherefore Paul leading us thereunto,—I mean to the liberty, which beseemeth us,—saith, after having made mention of *the cross and of the blood of our Lord*: ‘Ye are bought with a price; be not ye the servants of men.’ Think, saith he, upon the price which hath been paid for you,—he meaneth the price of the crucifixion,—and ye will not become the servants of men. *For the sign of the cross must be inscribed in the soul by a living faith, before it is impressed on the forehead by the finger.*¹”

I Cor. VII.
23.

Hom. in
Coloss.
VIII.

Chrysostom finely contrasts the different conduct of two mothers: one, who during the mortal sickness of her child resigns herself entirely to the will of God; the other, who eagerly grasps at every means of cure, held out to her by the delusions of superstition: “She, who beareth her sufferings, and returneth thanks to God, hath gained a martyr’s crown. If her child become sick, and she return thanks to God, that will be to her a martyr’s crown. Are not her sufferings greater than those of many martyrs? Yet they extort not from her one word of complaint. The child dieth. Again she returneth thanks. She is become a daughter of Abraham. If she have not offered up her son with her own hands, yet was she well pleased with the offering, which is the same thing. For she murmured not, that God took

¹ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀπλῶς τῷ δακτύλῳ ἐγχαράττειν αὐτὸν δεῖ, ἀλλὰ πρῶτον τῇ προαιρέσει μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς πίστεως. Chrysostom mentions how the signing of the cross had become a mere habit. He says, Hom. in Act. Apost. X.: “Many cross themselves on entering the baths, as soon as they pass the gates; the hand doth it from habit, without any inward calling; and again, if the lights be kindled, the hand maketh the sign of the cross, while the mind dwelleth upon something else.”

unto himself the gift which he had bestowed. She called not amulets to her aid, and this is accounted to her as martyrdom; for in her *heart* she offered up her son. What though these amulets could avail her nought, being delusions and mockeries, yet would men have persuaded her, that such things could avail; and she preferred to behold her infant dead, rather than to endure idolatry. If, then, she be a martyr, let her have done this with regard to herself, or to her son, or to her husband, or with respect to any one dear to her,—the woman who acteth otherwise must be an idolatress; for it is clear, that had it been permitted to her, she would have sacrificed. Nay, she did as much as sacrifice. For the use of amulets is an idolatry; although they, who traffic therein, adduce a thousand arguments in their favor, saying: It is God, whom we call upon; we do nought besides. She is an old and faithful Christian. Thus is the cross despised. Amulets are preferred before it, Christ is rejected, and an insane old woman is received instead. Ye ask, wherefore hath God not clearly shewn the vanity of such assistance? He hath many times shewn it clearly; but ye would not let yourselves be convinced. Therefore God abandoneth you to your own delusion; for Paul declareth to the Romans: ‘God gave them over Rom. I. 28. to a reprobate mind.’ A just application of the words of Paul, a remark worthy of being treasured up in our minds, an exhortation which should lead us to a severe self-examination! Before men are irretrievably involved in wickedness, or the delusions of superstition, many a lucid moment ariseth from time to time in their minds, and much experience is gained, which might have undeceived them. But if they

suffer these moments to pass by unheeded, and this experience to be lost, the delusion will at last acquire over them an uncontrolled dominion, and every passing event will tend to confirm their error." Chrysostom then refers to the excuse alleged by those, who sought after signs and miracles: "Wherefore in these days are there none, who raise the dead, and perform miraculous cures? Before I answer this question, I will inquire of you: wherefore in these days are there none, who despise this present life? Wherefore do we serve God for the sake of reward? When human nature was weaker than it now is,—when faith was first to be established,—there were many, who performed miracles. But now God willeth, that we be prepared for death, and not dependent upon such signs. Wherefore then cleave ye to the present life, and behold not that which is to come?" He further says: "How far shall these Satanic rites have the power to lead us into sin? Shall not the heathen laugh us to scorn, when we tell him, that great is the power of the cross? How shall we persuade him of that truth, when he beholdeth us calling things to our aid, which he himself derideth. Besides God hath given us medicines and physicians. What then, say ye, if these cure not the child, and the child die? Tell me, unhappy man, whither doth it go? Doth it depart to demons or to a tyrant? Doth it not ascend to heaven, to its own Lord? Why, then, dost thou mourn? why weep? why lament? Why love the infant more than thy Lord? Was it not the Lord's gift? Wouldst thou be so ungrateful, as to love the gift more than the giver?" After having, on another occasion, described the bondage of the heathen superstition, he added: "Those,

Idem. f.
387.

Idem.
388.

Hom. in
I Cor. XII.

who sit in darkness, fear all things, and live in a worse bondage, than many slaves; but not so do we. We, who live in light, who have our conversation in heaven, and have nothing in common with the earth,—we despise this bondage of superstition, and consider, that *the only things to be dreaded are sin and the displeasure of God*. If we sin not against God, we shall deride these superstitions and Satan, from whom they proceed. Let us thank God, who hath given to us this freedom; let us strive never again to relapse into the bondage of sin; and if a friend be fallen into this servitude, let us seek to break asunder his bonds, that his liberated soul may soar to heaven.”

Various customs originating in Paganism were observed on great occasions of joy or sorrow, which Chrysostom was desirous to see celebrated with Christian solemnity. Amulets were laid upon a new-born infant, and many ceremonies of superstition practised, in order to secure it against the influence of hostile enchantments: “How can ye,” said Chrysostom, “after practising these heathen rites, give the child into the hands of the priest, that he may impart to it his blessing, and sign its forehead with the sign of the cross?” When a child was to be named, a row of lamps was lighted, and to each lamp was attached a name, and the name of the lamp which burnt longest was given to the child; whereby it was believed to ensure it a long life.¹ Chrysostom, on the con-

Hom. in
I Cor. XII.

¹ Chrysostom mentions here, among other superstitious customs, that of binding rattles and scarlet threads upon the hands of children. This latter custom might, however, have taken its rise originally in a Jewish superstition, through a mystical interpretation and false application of Genes. XXXVIII. 28. and Josh. II. 18.

trary, recommended, that the names of holy men should be given to children, that their youthful minds might be incited to the imitation of godliness.¹

Chrysostom frequently censured the tumultuous and indecorous celebration of marriage, which had been handed down from the times of Paganism. The celebration was accompanied with wild shouts, improper dances, and songs to the honor of Aphrodite. Late in the evening the bride was led by torch-light through the city in noisy procession amid various unseemly jests. He spoke with indignation against these customs, and represented their pernicious influence upon the morals of domestic life: "The good, which hath been effected by a careful education, is thus in one day destroyed."

Hom. in
1 Cor. XII.

After endeavouring to prove from the miracle performed at the marriage in Cana, that Christ honored the marriage state, he said: "Let us not then dishonour Christ by these Satanic processions; but let those, who marry, follow the example presented to them at Cana, and call Christ into their circle. If ye drive away Satan, banish unchaste songs, immodest dances and jests, wild tumult and extravagant laughter, and

Savil, v. f.
331.

¹ While speaking of the important signification of the names of the Old Testament, he says, Hom. in Genes. XXI.: "In the giving such names not only is the piety of the parents manifested, but a great care of their children, in that they instruct them from their earliest infancy by the appellations, which they confer upon them, to exercise themselves in holiness. They gave them not names from chance or caprice, as we do now, when we determine to call the child after the father or great grandfather, but they endeavoured to confer such names upon their children, as might not only lead those, who received them, to holiness, but such as might contain lessons of wisdom for all others, even for future generations."

on the other hand invite the holy servants of Christ, then will Christ through them be present with his mother and his brethren ; for he saith : ‘ Whosoever shall do the will of my father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.’ Let no one appeal to ancient custom. Where there is a danger of incurring sin, speak not of custom. If thou would gain advantage from profusion invite the crowds of poor. Consider how great would be the benefit, should the bride enter the bridegroom’s house accompanied by so many blessings.”

Matt. XII.
50.

Chrysostom likewise censured the heathen customs, which were still observed at the decease and interment of relations, the extravagant expressions of unfelt pain manifested both by voice and gesture, and the processions of old women hired ¹ to attend the corpse with howlings and lamentations. He endeavored to prove how greatly this description of mourning was opposed to the spirit of Christian hope : “ Let no one longer mourn ; let no one thus bring into contempt the good work of Christ ; for he hath overcome death. Wherefore weepst thou thus in vain ? Death hath become a sleep. Wherefore lament and mourn ? Can a conduct thus irrational be pardoned, after so long a continuance of faith, after proofs so manifest of a resurrection ? As if thou studied to increase thy fault, thou callest in the lamentations of heathen women, to excite still more thy grief, and to kindle a greater flame. Hearest thou not what Paul saith : ‘ What accord hath Christ with Belial ? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel ?’ The heathen, who

Hom. in
Mat. XXXI.

II Cor. VI.
15.

¹ *Mulieres præficæ.*

knoweth not of a resurrection, findeth grounds of consolation, saying: Endure stedfastly; for by thy lamentation thou canst not alter the events that are past; and art not thou, who hast received a better hope, ashamed to conduct thyself with less wisdom than they? For we say not: Endure stedfastly, because thou canst not alter the events that are past; but we say: Endure stedfastly; for he will rise again; the infant only sleepeth, he is not dead; he is at rest, but hath not perished; resurrection, immortality, and heavenly bliss await him. Wherefore then dishonor the dead by your despair? Wherefore cause others to fear and tremble at death? Wherefore give to many an occasion of accusing God, as if he had wrought some great evil? and wherefore invite the poor, and call upon the priests to pray, that the deceased may have departed into rest? Thus art thou in contradiction with thyself; thou yieldest up the privileges of a Christian, and confirmest the heathen in their unbelief; for how canst thou convince the unbelievers, if thou fear death, more than they?" And again: "How is it possible, sayest thou, that I being man, should not feel grief? That is not what I require of thee; I would not forbid grief, but excess of grief. Grieve, weep, but despair not, murmur not. Render thanks to him, who hath taken her away, and thereby honor the departed. Weep, as thy Lord wept over Lazarus, appointing to us a just measure, a law and limit of grief, which it is not permitted to exceed; for thus saith Paul: 'I would not have you ignorant, brethren, concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, as others, which have no hope.' Grieve, he saith, but not as the heathen, who have no hope of a future life.

Hom. in
Lazar. V.

1 Thess. IV.
13.

I confess to you, that I am ashamed, when I behold crowds of women traverse the forum, tearing their hair, and lacerating their arms and cheeks,—and these things in presence of the heathen! Be ashamed of obsequies such as these. The psalms are not sung; the prayers are not offered up; the spiritual fathers are not assembled; the crowd of brethren are not met; that ye should weep and lament, but that ye should render thanks to God, who hath taken him away. For as the multitude accompanieth those, who are called to high offices of state, with praises and acclamations; in like manner do we attend with songs of praise the saints, called hence to greater honor.”¹

¹ Chrysostom thus contrasts the Christian customs at the interment of the dead with the lamentation of the heathen in a discourse held at Constantinople, Hom. ad Hebr. IV: “Tell me what mean the bright shining torches? Do we not accompany the dead as brave warriors? What mean the hymns? do we not praise God, and render thanks to him, that he hath now crowned the departed? that he hath freed him from his sufferings, and hath taken him from misery to himself? Consider what ye sing at that moment? ‘Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee.’ Again: ‘The Lord is on my side; I will not fear?’ and again: ‘Thou art my hiding place, from the trouble which encompasseth me.’ (Ps. cxvi. 7; cxviii. 6; xxxii. 7. Consider what these Psalms mean. But ye heed them not, and are drunken with grief. Or, regard the mourning of others, that ye may find therein consolation for your own. Ye say: “Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee”! and yet ye weep. (Ps. xvi. 7.)” To the Christian ceremonies in honor of departed friends belonged prayers for the repose of their souls, the distribution of alms in their names, a special offering laid upon the altar on the anniversary of their death, likewise in their names, the mention of their names in the church prayer, which was read after the consecration of the bread and wine, and lastly the celebration of the holy supper, under a conviction, that the communion between those, who are united together in the Lord, cannot be dissolved even by death. Chrysostom also says, Hom. in Act. Apost.

A considerable number of Jews had dwelt for centuries at Antioch, where they had established Synagogues, and zealously sought to make proselytes. The pomp of their ceremonies, their rigid fasts, their affected sanctity,—under the mask of which they concealed, according to Chrysostom, an immoral life,—attracted those who were weak in the faith, and imperfectly enlightened by the Spirit of Christianity. It often occurred, that the Jews visited such men in the hours of sickness, and extolled to them the virtue of those exorcisms, and amulets, which had been in use among them from remote times. By means of these deceptions many suffered themselves to be seduced, and were persuaded to attend secretly the synagogues, and they were only deterred from separating themselves entirely from the Christian Church, either through fear of incurring the punishment attached to Apostacy by the Imperial laws, or through the vain belief, that they might unite in their superstition both the Christian and Jewish Ceremonies. Chrysostom took every opportunity of reprobating this confusion of Christianity and Judaism.¹ He called upon his

XXIX: “If any one celebrate the memory of his mother, wife, or son, he doth so, whether he heareth from us or not, being led thereunto by habit and conscience.” In the general prayers of the Church for all estates of Christians, which followed the consecration of the Holy Supper, mention was made not only of the departed, but likewise of those who were paying tribute to their memory. Chrysostom alludes to this custom, Hom. in Act. Apost. XXI. “It is not in vain, that the Deacon calleth out: ‘For those who are asleep in Christ, and those who are celebrating the festival of their memory.’ It is not the Deacon but the Holy Ghost who speaketh these words.”

¹ Among the passages, in which Chrysostom alludes to a participation in Jewish customs, there are two very remarkable and obscure, Hom. in Tit. III: “What can be said of

hearers diligently to search out, and exhort those, who had been led astray, or to indicate them to himself or his assistants in the ministry. He declared, that he would not administer the Lord's supper to any, who had been thus unmindful of their Christian obligations; and in several homilies, which he delivered soon after his entrance upon the ministry, in order to

those, who observe the same fasts and Sabbaths as the Jews, and of those who visit the places which are consecrated by them; I mean that in Daphne, called the cave of Matrona, and that in Cilicia called the cave of Saturn?" And, Orat. contr. Jud. I: "I speak not alone concerning this Synagogue, but likewise concerning that in Daphne, where there is a still more infamous cave called that of Matrona. And I have heard, that many of the faithful ascend thither and sleep near the spot." The name of Matrona, of which there is here question, cannot have a heathen origin, because Jewish affairs are alone spoken of. More naturally do the names of Matrona and Metatron which are to be found in the cabalistic theories, occur to our mind; for the Antiochian Jews, such as they are represented by Chrysostom, were surely given to theosophick and magical mysteries. The so called cave of Matrona, to judge from the representation of Chrysostom, was a synagogue situated in the Antiochian suburb of Daphne, and received its name from its subterranean position, whence it was fitted to all kinds of juggling tricks. This spot was given out to be under the special influence of the divine Matrona (Sophia). She revealed in dreams to the sick, who slept there, the means most conducive to their cure. When we here consider the accounts of an Aristides, or of a Libanius concerning the effects of sleeping in the temples, and the appearances of the Gods in dreams, whereby means of cure were revealed to the sick, and similar reports of the Christians of those days concerning the appearances of the saints; we readily perceive how the same superstition may assume either a Heathen, Christian or Jewish form. With respect to the spot in Cilicia, which was said to be consecrated to Saturn, we must either suppose, that the heathen gave this name to the place, because they regarded the Jews as worshippers of Saturn; or that the Jews, of whom many sects at least occupied themselves much at that time in Astrological speculations, connected with the name a special influence of the planet Saturn.

defend the weaker brethren against the persuasive arts of the Jews, he endeavored to prove both from the prophecies of the Old Testament and from the prophecies of Jesus himself, which had been fulfilled, that the Mosaic dispensation had been superseded by the appearance of Christ as our Redeemer upon earth. He thus comments upon the remarkable passage of St. Matthew, Chap. XXVI. 13: "In every church we now hear this woman proclaimed. Her history is listened to by consuls and generals, by the most distinguished both among men and women. In whatsoever part of the world ye go, ye will hear the pious deeds of this woman related. How many kings have founded cities, and surrounded them with walls, have carried on successful wars, erected trophies, and saved nations, and yet with all their merits they are forgotten; and great queens, illustrious women, who have bestowed upon their subjects innumerable benefits,—their names are no longer known. This inconsiderable woman, who did nothing more than pour out oil, is every where celebrated throughout the whole world. Length of time hath not sufficed to extinguish the remembrance of her! and it shall not be extinguished! Could power merely human have foretold this?"

While Chrysostom thus endeavored to free Christianity from any admixture of Pagan or Jewish errors, he likewise labored to promote the general celebration of the festival of Christmas lately introduced into the Church of Antioch. He considered, that this festival, as well as infant baptism, which he likewise strongly recommended, was calculated to extend the influence of Christianity in domestic life, and to preserve a lively sense and remembrance of the

sanctification of human nature through a Redeemer, who was both God and man;—a doctrine unintelligible both to the heathen, whose worship of the things created, instead of the Creator, gave unbridled license to the passions, and promoted a blind enjoyment of the pleasures of life, undisturbed by any desire for a higher state of existence; and to the Jews, whose severe law was intended to bring them to a consciousness of their estrangement from God. At the same period of the year, when, under various symbols, whose concealed sense a few only penetrated, the heathen celebrated the remembrance of their golden age; the festival of Christmas announced the true golden age, the reconciliation of God with man, and opposed to the licentious rejoicings of the heathen,¹ the holy joy attendant upon a renewed state of innocence, of pardon and regeneration through Christ.² From the earliest times of the Eastern Church that festival had been solemnized, which records the visible consecration and first manifestation of Christ in his divine character to men;³ but the festival which represents to us the Redeemer, both God and man, yet unrevealed, the sanctifier of human nature from our tenderest age, had remained unhallowed. This latter festival, long since observed in the Western Church, which had appointed the 25th of December for its celebration was first received into the Antiochian Church A. D. 376, and, as is usually the case

¹ The Saturnalia in their whole extent, and the succeeding festival of January.

² See Neander's Church History on the subject of Christmas.

³ The Epiphany, or Festival, in remembrance of Christ's baptism by St. John in the river Jordan.

with respect to the introduction of new ecclesiastical regulations, met with great opposition. Chrysostom, at the commencement of his ministry, endeavoured to promote a zealous celebration of this festival, and labored to refute its adversaries in two sermons preached A.D. 387. In the first of these, preparatory to the festival of Christmas, and delivered five days previous to its celebration, he observed: "The festival approacheth, the most to be revered, the most awful, and which we might justly term the centre of all festivals,—that of the birth and manifestation of Christ in the flesh. Hence the festivals of Epiphany, of holy Easter, of Ascension, and of Pentecost, derive their origin and signification. Had Christ not been born a man, he would not have been baptized, and we should not have observed the festival of Epiphany; he would not have been crucified, and we should not have solemnized the festival of Easter; he would not have sent down the Holy Ghost, and we should not have celebrated the day of Pentecost. Therefore from this one festival all other festivals arise, as various streams flow from the same fountain. But not for this reason alone, should this day be pre-eminent, but because the event, which occurred upon it, was of all events the most stupendous. For that Christ should die, was the natural consequence of his having become man; because although he had committed no sin, he had assumed a mortal body. But that being God, he should have condescended to become man, and should have endured to humble himself to a degree surpassing human understanding, is of all miracles the most awful and astonishing. It was at this, that Paul wondered and said: 'without controversy great is the mystery of godliness.' What did he say

Hom. de
Beato Phi-
logon VI.

was great? 'that God was manifest in the flesh,' And again: 'Verily he took not on him the nature of angels, but he took on him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore in all things it behoveth him to be made like unto his brethren.' Therefore I love and honor this day beyond all others, and I hold up this my love in the midst of you, that ye may likewise become participators in it. Therefore I beseech you on this day to leave your houses with zeal and alacrity, and to be here present, that we may together behold our Lord wrapped in swaddling clothes, lying in the manger. For what excuse, what pardon can there be for us, if we will not so much as come hither from our houses to seek Him, who for our sakes descended from heaven? The Magi, although they were strangers and barbarians, hastened from Persia, that they might behold the Saviour lying in the manger; and shall not we, who are Christians, endure to measure so short a distance for the enjoyment of this blessed sight? For if we approach with faith we shall surely behold him lying in a manger. His holy table will supply the place of a manger. For there will be spread the body of our Lord, not wrapped in swaddling clothes as then, but on all sides surrounded by his Holy Spirit. Approach then, and make the offering of thy gifts, not such as were presented by the Magi, but gifts infinitely more precious. They brought gold; do thou bring temperance and virtue: they offered frankincense; do thou offer the prayer of a pure heart, which is spiritual frankincense: they presented myrrh; do thou present humility, meekness, and charity. If thou draw near with these gifts, thou mayest with much confidence partake of the Holy Supper."

1 Tim. III.
16.

Heb. II. 16,
17.

The other three principal festivals had been celebrated in the Eastern Church from the earliest times. The sermons relating to them are among the finest compositions of Chrysostom. His profound Christian experience enabled him to represent clearly each of these festivals in their proper signification, and in their relation to the great events, upon which our faith is founded. The great Fasts preceded the festival of Easter. We have already mentioned the remarkable change, which these fasts were wont to produce upon the lives of the Eastern Christians, and Chrysostom says, that these parts exercised so great a power, as well over the emperor as over every other individual, that, during their continuance, no difference could be perceived between the tables of the poor and of the rich.¹ Chrysostom considered, that the object of these fasts was to awaken men to a consciousness of their sins, and to create in them feelings of repentance preparatory to the festivities of Easter, and to a worthy participation of the Lord's Supper during that festival. He thus expresses himself: "Wherefore do we fast during these forty days? Formerly many persons partook of the Lord's Supper without due preparation, and especially *at this season in which Christ institu-*

Vid. f. 121.

Hom. in
Cap. I. Gen.
II.

Orat. contr.
Jud. III.

¹ In the Western Church, indeed, while they observed the letter of the law, they knew how to indemnify themselves for any such privations, since many, in the place of meats, partook of delicacies of other kinds. See Augustin. Serm. 205. In the Eastern Church the strictness was greater. Nevertheless there were some likewise there, who thought themselves above the multitude, for whom they considered fasting to be a wholesome means of discipline, while themselves only feigned to fast, in order to give the people no offence. Vid. Hom. in Matt. XX.: "ἵνα μὴ σκανδάλισωμεν τοὺς πολλοὺς" "That they might not give offence to the multitude;" such was their phrase.

*ted that holy sacrament.*¹ When the fathers perceived the evil consequences arising from this careless attendance, they met together and appointed a period of forty days for the purpose of hearing the divine word, for prayer and fasting, that we being purified during these forty days by prayer, by giving of alms, by fasting, by vigils, by tears, by a confession of our sins to God, and by all other means, might be enabled to approach the holy table with a conscience as

¹ Chrysostom here transfers Christian antiquity too much to the state of things in his own time. Though at this period Maundy Thursday (*feria quinta Paschæ, ἡ ἁγία πεντάς*) was distinguished in remembrance of the institution of the Holy Supper by a general participation in the Communion, as well as by an extraordinary afternoon or evening Communion, we must not thence conclude, that it was thus in the earliest times of Christianity; for a general participation in the Communion always then formed a part of divine service, from which the Pœnitentes alone were excluded. The fasting cannot therefore have had a preparatory object. The general custom of fasting at this period rather arose out of the idea, that we ought to imitate the sufferings of Christ in the mortifying of the old man, in repentance and self-denial, in order, to celebrate, on the festival of his resurrection, the enjoyment of the fruits of his death and the glorification of human nature through him, in feelings of pure rejoicing, imparting new happiness even to external life. They thought on the 15th verse of the 9th chapter of St. Matthew. The day of Christ's suffering was a day of repentance and fasting — (in the course of time many fast days were added thereto, till at last, in remembrance of the forty days fast of our Saviour, or of the forty hours between his passion and resurrection, a fast of forty days was appointed) the day of his resurrection was a day of rejoicing. Therefore, in Easter-week, Friday was regarded by all, as a day of fast and repentance in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, and Sunday, as a day of rejoicing, on which there never was any fast, and prayers were offered up in an erect posture, in remembrance, that Christ, who arose, raised up human nature again to heaven. Thus were men prepared by repentance, confession of sins to God, and by fasting, for baptism, as for a resurrection to a godly life with Christ, who arose and was glorified.

clear as sinners may possess. And it is evident that the fathers by this condescension¹ effected much good, in that they thereby habituated us to fasting. For were we during the whole year to raise our voices, and to call upon men to fast, no one would heed our words; but when the season of the fast arriveth, without the exhortation of any one, the most supine are awakened, and take counsel from the season itself. Should therefore the Jew or the heathen ask: Wherefore fast ye? answer not, on account of the festival of Easter, nor on account of the crucifixion; but on account of our sins, because we would draw near to the Lord's table. For Easter is not otherwise a time for fasting, nor for grief, but an occasion of joy and exultation. The death of our Lord upon the cross hath taken away sin; it was an expiation for the whole world; it hath put an end to long enmity; it hath opened the doors of heaven; it hath reconciled God to those, who before were hateful in his sight, and led them back to heaven; it hath raised our nature to the right hand of the Almighty's throne, and hath acquired for us many other blessings. Wherefore Paul saith: Gal. VI. 14. 'God forbid, that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ.' And again: Rom. V. 8. 'God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.' And St. John expressly declareth: 'God so loved the world.' In what manner? Passing by all other things, he holdeth up to us the cross; for after saying, 'God so loved the world,' he addeth, 'that he gave his only-begotten Son' to be crucified, 'that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' If Joh. III. 16.

¹ συγκαταβασις.

then the cross be a proof of God's love towards us, and an occasion of our exultation, let us not say, that it is the cause of our grief. For we grieve not on that account. God forbid! but on account of our sins. Therefore we fast."

Chrysostom constantly deprecated a superstitious observance of these fasts, and distinguished the object from the means. In addressing those, who were unable to maintain the fast during the whole day, and who, on that account, were reluctant, after having tasted food, to attend divine service in the evening, he says: "If, my beloved, ye be incapable of fasting during the whole day, because of bodily infirmity, no reasonable man can on that account reproach you. For we have a merciful Lord, who requireth nothing of us beyond our strength. He requireth of us to fast, not for the sake of fasting only, but that we should withdraw ourselves from worldly affairs, and devote our thoughts to things spiritual. For if we ordered our lives soberly, and directed our attention to things spiritual; if we took no further nourishment than that which is requisite for the support of our bodies, and spent our whole lives in the exercise of good works, we should not need the aid of fasting. But because man is naturally thoughtless, and easily abandoneth himself to a life of dissipation and luxury, the merciful God, like a tender father, hath devised for us a remedy in fasting, that abstaining from the pleasures of sense, we might transfer our thoughts from the cares of earth to the concerns of heaven. For there are other means, by which we may more surely acquire the favor of God, than by fasting. Let him, who cannot fast, bestow the greater alms; let his prayers be more fervent; his desire of hearing the divine word

Hom. in
Gen. X.

more eager. To such things bodily infirmity can offer no opposition. Let him be reconciled to his enemies, and let him erase from his mind every feeling of hatred and revenge. If he rightly accomplish these things, he will have performed a true fast, after the manner which is especially required of us by God; for he hath ordained abstinence from food, that we may control the unruly passions of the flesh, and bring it into obedience unto the fulfilment of his commands."

The Christians having, in conformity to ancient usage, assembled on Good Friday near the graves on the outside of the city, Chrysostom said: "We are now assembled without the city and the walls, that ye may know, that the sacrifice of Christ was an offering for the whole earth, a purification universal, not partial, as among the Jews. God commanded the Jews to assemble themselves on one spot, there to offer up their sacrifices and prayers, because the whole earth was defiled by the abominations of idolatry. But since Christ came and purified the world, each place hath become for us a house of prayer. Therefore Paul for our consolation exhorteth us, to pray everywhere without doubting, saying: 'I will, that men pray everywhere, lifting up holy hands.' See ye not how the world hath been purified? With respect to place, we now can everywhere lift up holy hands; for the whole earth hath been made holy, more holy, than the innermost sanctuary of the Jews." In another sermon on the same festival, having quoted Isaiah, he says: "Of a truth were these the treasures of darkness, until the sun of righteousness descended, and illumined them, and made hell, heaven. For where Christ is, there is heaven."

Hom. de
Cruce et
Latrone. I.
Tom. II.

1 Tim. II. 8.

Isaiah XLV.
3. De Ce-
metrio et
de Cruce.

The Festival of Ascension was instituted, according to Chrysostom, in the remembrance of the glorification of human nature through Christ. He observes, that: "Christ hath presented to the father the first fruits of our nature, and the father hath valued the gift so highly, on account of the worthiness of him, who offered it, and on account of the sanctity of the thing offered, that he received it with his own hands, and placed it next himself, saying: 'Sit thou at my right hand.' But to what nature did God ever say: 'Sit thou at my right hand?' To that very nature, which once heard the words: 'Dust thou art, and unto dust thou shalt return.' Willingly do I dwell upon the lowliness of our nature, that we may learn to prize in a still higher degree the dignity, which hath come unto us, through the grace of our Lord."

Hom. in
Ascens.
Tom. II.

Ps. XC. 19.

He describes the festival of Pentecost to be a commemoration of the Divine Spirit having been communicated to man, as a proof and pledge of his glorification and reconciliation to God: "Ten days ago our nature ascended to the throne of heaven, and to-day hath the Holy Spirit descended unto our nature. Ten days have scarcely elapsed, since Christ ascended into heaven, and already hath he sent down unto us the gift of the Spirit, as a pledge of reconciliation;—that none may doubt what Christ effected after his ascension; that none may inquire, if he have reconciled us to the father. Desirous of proving to us, that he had propitiated the father, he straightways sent unto us the gift of reconciliation; for when enemies become reconciled and united together, friendly greetings and gifts immediately follow the reconciliation. We sent up faith, and received the gift of the Spirit; we offered obedi-

Hom. de
Pentecost I.

Idem.

ence, and received justification." He afterwards brings forward proofs of the continued operation of the Holy Spirit in the Church: "Were not the Holy Spirit present, we could not name Jesus, Lord; 'for no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.' Were not the Holy Spirit present, we, who believe, could not call upon God, nor say, 'Our Father, which art in heaven.' For as we cannot call Jesus, Lord; neither can we call God, our father, but by the Holy Ghost. For the same Apostle saith: 'because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the spirit of his son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' When therefore ye call God, father, remember, that ye have obtained the gift of thus addressing him, through the operation of the Holy Spirit within your souls. Were not the Holy Spirit present, the gifts of wisdom and of knowledge would not be granted to the Church; 'for to one is given by the Spirit the word of wisdom, to another the word of knowledge by the same spirit.' Were not the Holy Spirit present, there would be no pastors nor teachers in the Church, 'over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers.' Were not the Holy Spirit present, the Church would not endure. If, therefore, the Church endure, it is a proof that the Holy Spirit is present."

I Cor. XII.
3.

Gal. IV. 6.

I Cor. XII.
8.

Acts XX.
28.

Among the festivals instituted in remembrance of Holy Men, Chrysostom treated with especial love that of the Apostle Paul. Although the four great Apostles have been considered as representatives of four principal types of human nature, and of special ways in which Christianity displays itself in different dispositions; ¹ we must not thence

¹ By the four great Apostles are doubtlessly intended

conclude that Chrysostom was exactly formed upon the model of St. Paul. No just parallel can be drawn between him and Augustin, Luther, or Calvin, in whom the Paulinian type prevailed, and whose religious views, like those James, Peter, John, and Paul, but I am unacquainted with the particular view, to which Dr. Neander alludes. The dispositions of the three latter may indeed be sufficiently marked by the historical records of their actions to be regarded as principal types of the ways in which Christianity develops itself in man; but as much can scarcely be predicated of James. By James must here be understood, the son of Zebedee (a fisherman on the lake of Galilee) and brother of John the Evangelist, to both of which brothers, Christ gave the name of Boanerges. (Mark III. 17.) He was called the elder to distinguish him from the younger Apostle James, the son of Cleopas or Alpheus, supposed by many to be the same, who is described as a brother, or rather agreeably to the usage of this word in the Hebrew language, cousin or relation in general of our Lord. He was one of the three Apostles, in whom our Lord placed the greatest confidence, who alone were witnesses of the raising of Jairus's daughter from the dead, to his Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, and to his Agony in the Garden; and was put to death by Herod Agrippa A. D. 44. Acts XIII. Eminent as was the Apostle James the Less, or the Just, still he can scarcely be regarded so eminent as James the Elder, when we consider the especial manner in which the latter was distinguished by our blessed Lord. However there would seem to be more recorded in the New Testament, as likewise by Josephus and Hegesippus, concerning the former, from which to form an opinion of his personal character. He was for some years Bishop of Jerusalem, and by his opinion the Apostolic Council in that city abided. (Acts XV.—13, 29). He again appears as a principal person in the Church of Jerusalem (Acts XXI.—18, 26). He is likewise mentioned by Paul, as having been honored by an appearance of our Saviour after his Resurrection (1 Cor. XV. 7.) and again, Gal. I. 19, and II. 9, 12, the latter of which passages deserves particularly to be noticed, because he is not only there called one of the pillars of the Church, but is ranked even before Peter, on account of his great authority in Jerusalem. Vid. Marsh's Trans. of Michaelis. Vol. IV. p. 276. The truly Christian practice set forth in the Epistle of St. James can scarcely be used to determine the character of either Apostle, because it is not known by

of St. Paul, had been determined by a great crisis of their lives. Far different was the case with Chrysostom; and the peculiar relation, in which he stands to those fathers of the Church, who have made St. Paul their model, may be observed in his Homilies upon the Festival of the Apostle. In these discourses he could not, without losing sight of a most important point

which of the two Apostles it was written, or whether it was written by either, and not by James the brother of our Lord, supposing the latter to be a distinct person from the younger Apostle James. Seeing how little is recorded of the personal character of James the Elder, I am, I confess, at a loss to know, how he can be considered as one of the principal types of Christianity, as developed in man. Of the other three apostles above named we know more, and the features of their characters are very decidedly marked. In Peter we behold fervour and zeal, but a confidence bordering on presumption; and no where can we better learn the frailty inseparable from our nature, than in reading his history. Inconsistent, however, as his character may appear, are not its inconsistencies such as are too commonly to be found among us? And for our encouragement and consolation, did not our blessed Saviour, who well knew what was in man, pardon his weakness and even in the most affectionate manner entrust to him the guardianship of his flock? Upon that rock he has built his church, therein manifesting the impotency of man and the power of God. In John, the disciple whom Jesus loved, we behold simplicity, gentleness, and love, shining forth naturally and without effort,—a soil, upon which a ray from the Saviour had only need to fall, to quicken and perfect the seed, as much as it can be matured on earth. In Paul we see a strongly marked character. He discovers not less love and devotion to his blessed master than did John, but it is love manifesting itself in another way,—emanating from an elevation of soul soaring in proportion to the fallen state in which he had shewn himself the bitter persecutor of Christ. It were needless to dwell upon the various high qualities of ‘the great Apostle of the Gentiles,’ whom so many godly men have held up to us for our admonition, and as an object of our admiration. I will only add, that I should be very glad to see the interesting analogy, to which Dr. Neander alludes, ably worked out.

of Christian doctrine and practice, omit clearly to point out in the life of the Apostle that call of grace, which awakened his soul to faith. But in the life of Chrysostom, this call was in nowise so eminently marked, as it was in the lives of those fathers, whom we have mentioned above. Chrysostom endeavors to avoid the setting forth of a constraining grace, and he seeks to prove, that, in the end, every thing depends upon the free-will of man, and that, without free-will, the call of grace could have availed nothing to St. Paul. He says indeed in one of these discourses: "Let us then learn from the example of Paul, that neither himself, nor those who went before him, ever found Christ of themselves; ¹ but Christ revealed himself unto them. He saith: 'Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.' For wherefore believed not Paul, when he saw the dead raised through the name of Jesus? He beheld the lame walk, the evil spirits cast out, and the paralytic made whole, and he gathered therefrom no fruit. He could not be ignorant of those things,—he, who so eagerly inquired after the Apostles,—who was present at the stoning of Stephen, and 'beheld his face as it had been the face of an angel,' and yet profited nought thereby. How came it that he profited nought thereby? Because he had not yet been called." But in a preceding passage, and in that which immediately follows, Chrysostom expressly rejects the idea of a call, by which the free-will of man would be constrained. He continues thus: "But when ye hear this, deem not the call to be a call of necessity; for God constraineth not men, but permitteth them to remain masters of their will even after

Hom. de
Laud. Pauli.
IV.

John XV.
16.

Acts VI. '15.

¹ οἰκισθεν αὐτον εἶδεν.

they are called. For if your hearts be unwilling and perverted, a voice sent down to you from above would not be sufficient for your salvation. How often have the Jews heard a voice descend from heaven, and yet believed not? How many signs have they seen both in the Old Testament and in the New, and yet turned not from their evil ways?" In another sermon he likewise says: "The calling of Paul contributed much to his salvation, as it doth to that of all other men; but it left him not destitute of good works, or of the merits arising from a free exercise of the will; nor did it take aught from his own free power; but joyfully, of his own good will, he obeyed the call." That which Chrysostom found most attractive in the life of St. Paul, was the disinterested love which that Apostle bore to the Redeemer,—a love which regarded neither earth nor heaven, if it possessed only Christ. He says: "Being strong in love, the most excellent of all good gifts, his power was more mighty than the flame. For as iron, when cast into the fire, becometh fire itself, thus Paul, animated by the fire of love, became love itself." Chrysostom frequently alludes to the mighty works, which St. Paul effected by moral strength of will, in order to hold him up as an example for imitation, and thence to infer of how much every man is capable, if he obey the call of grace with a disposition similar to that of St. Paul. He exhorted his hearers, as follows: "Since then God hath so honoured our race, that he hath suffered one man to be the author of such great good, let us with emulation study to become like unto him, and let us not imagine this to be impossible. For I have often said, and I will not desist from saying, that he had a soul and body like unto

Tom. III. f.
125.

Rom. VIII.
35.
— IX. 3.
Hom. de
Laud. Pauli.
III.

Hom. de
Laud. Pauli.
IV.

ours ; but his will was determined, and his zeal glowing, and thus he became the man that he was. Let no one then distrust ; let no one despair. For if ye devote your whole hearts to Christ, nothing can hinder you from receiving the same grace as Paul.”¹

Chrysostom, as well in his earliest writings, as in his discourses after the commencement of his ministry, not only labored for the maintenance and extension of pure doctrine and clearly defined tenets, which many of his cotemporaries regarded as the only things essential ; but he likewise used every exertion to awaken a Christian spirit in the minds of men, which should lead them to the practice of Christian virtue. He eagerly seized every opportunity of exposing those sources of deception, which by leading men to confound the outward show with the inward spirit of Christianity opposed the establishment of God’s kingdom in the human heart. There were two prevailing errors, which in this, as in every other period, led to erroneous views upon Christianity ; on the one hand, a narrow-minded and presumptuous speculation upon matters of faith,—a conceited dogmatism which, in a copy of the conceit, imagined to possess the substance or reality of the thing itself ; on the other hand, a devotion to objects of sense, which mistaking the outward sign for the inward spirit, gave itself up to superstition, ceremonial worship, and a seeking after miracles. These errors, not unfrequently united in the same mind, were during this period, in many instances, combined.

¹ It was because this was the prevailing idea throughout these Homilies, that they so much pleased the Pelagians. Wherefore Annianus translated them into Latin. See Neander’s Church History, Vol. II. p. 1253.

—We have already remarked the anxiety of Chrysostom to enforce practical Christianity, with a view of opposing the first of these errors, the injurious influence of which discovered itself in various ways amid the doctrinal disputes of the Greek church, which were thereby greatly aggravated. Thus he says in refutation of a mere casuistical orthodoxy : “ Let us glorify the Saviour both by faith and works ; for pure doctrine conduceth nought to salvation, if our lives be corrupt.”¹ And again, after having exhorted his hearers to a remembrance of their sins, and to an active repentance, he thus inveighs against vain doctrinal speculations : “ If we always occupy ourselves with these duties, we shall neither allow a careless life, nor a pernicious curiosity² to afford Satan opportunities of attacking us. For it is by these means, that, finding men idle and indifferent to the amendment of their lives, he leadeth them into irrational inquiries, and injurious disputes about words.”

Hom. in
Joan. IV.

Hom. in
Joan. VII.

The Christian multitude were however prone to superstition, and there prevailed among them that longing for miracles, which turns men away from the spiritual manifestation of the kingdom of God, by leading them to seek extraordinary operations of divine power in the material world instead of an inward sanctification through the Holy Spirit. Chrysostom often combatted this disposition of mind, from which proceeded great corruption both in doctrine and practice, by pointing out the true object of miracles, and their connection as well with the divine power, of which they are rare and extraordinary manifestations, as with the whole system of those

¹ οὐδεν γὰρ ὄφελος ἡμῖν εἰς σωτηριαν δογματων ὑγιων, διεφθαρμενης ἡμῖν της ζωης.

² την ἀλεθριαν περιεργιαν.

means of Salvation, which by miracles alone could have been introduced into the history of mankind. He in this manner properly explained the several miracles, which had been performed, and assigned to them their real value, by representing the sanctification of man, as the ultimate design of all the dispensations of God towards our race; and by bringing forward his favorite idea, that not even miracles can avail men, if their minds be not rightly disposed. He says: “ And Jesus, when he was baptized, went up straightway out of the water, and lo, the heavens were opened unto him.’ Wherefore were the heavens opened unto him? To make known to thee, that the same thing occurreth at thine own Baptism, when God calleth thee to thy heavenly home, and persuadeth thee to have nought in common with the earth. But if thou behold not with thine eyes, be not therefore unbelieving. For at the *first introduction of spiritual miracles*, visible signs and wonders such as these, always appear, for the sake of those who are slow of apprehension, who need visible manifestations, who cannot comprehend spiritual nature, nor be persuaded by things unseen; and that, should such wonders not occur hereafter, the truths, which had been once revealed by them in the beginning might ever after be received through faith. For among the Apostles there came the sound of a mighty wind, and there appeared unto them tongues like as of fire, not for the sake of the Apostles, but for the sake of the Jews, who were present. But although such signs appear no longer, we admit the truths they once revealed. For not only did the Dove descend to point out, as with a finger, the Son of God to the Jews present and to John; but at the same time to declare, that

Hom. in
Matt. XII.

Matt. III.
16.

Acts. II. 2,
3.

the Spirit likewise descendeth upon us at our Baptism. But in these present times we no longer stand in need of sensible manifestations, *faith sufficing to us in the place of all things*; for signs are not for believers, but for unbelievers."

Hom. in
Matt.
XLVI.

Again: "How long shall we make the absence of miracles in our days an excuse for indifference? What was it that rendered the Apostles so great? A disregard of wealth, a contempt of worldly distinction, a renunciation of the good things of this present life. And had they not possessed such virtue, but been slaves to their passions, although they had raised ten thousand from the dead, not only would they have effected no good thereby, but they would even have been regarded as deceivers. Thus it is a good life, which giveth light to all around, and calleth down the grace of the Spirit. What miracle did John¹ perform, when he drew unto him so many cities? for we are told by the Evangelist, that 'John did no miracle.' Wherein was Elias worthy of admiration? Was it not in the boldness, with which he admonished the King? Was it not in his zeal for the cause of God? Was it not in poverty, in a sheepskin, in a cave, in mountains? For it was after these things, that he performed all his miracles. By what miracle did Job overcome Satan? By no miracle, but by the excellence of his life, and patience firm as adamant. What miracle was performed by David, to whom, being yet a youth, God said: 'I have found David, the son of Jesse, a man after mine own heart.' Which of the dead did Abraham, Isaac, or Jacob raise? What leper did they cleanse? Know ye not, that, unless we be watchful, miracles are oftentimes injurious to us? Hence many of the

John X. 41.

Acts XIII.
22.

¹ The Baptist.

Corinthians were divided among themselves. Hence many of the Romans became proud and boastful. On this account was Simon rejected, and he, who once wished to follow Christ, was reprov'd by him in the following words: 'Foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.' The latter fell, because he was attached to earthly possessions; the former because he coveted the glory of working miracles. But a strict purity of life, and a love of holiness create not desires such as these; they even remove them, should they already exist. What said Christ himself, when he gave laws to his Disciples? Did he say, perform miracles, that men may see them? No: he said: 'Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your father which is in heaven.' And he said not to Peter, if thou love me, perform miracles; but: 'Feed my lambs.' And tell me, wherefore did he on all occasions prefer Peter, James, and John, to the other disciples? Was it on account of their miracles? No! They all alike cleansed the lepers, and raised the dead, and Christ gave to all the same power. Why then were these three preferred? On account of the purity of their souls. See ye not then, that in every instance are required a good life, and a conformation thereof by works. For Christ saith: 'ye shall know them by their fruits.' From a holy life proceedeth miracles, and a holy life is the object of miracles; for he who leadeth a holy life, draweth down upon him this gift of grace, and he, upon whom it is conferred, receiveth it only, that he may amend the lives of others. Christ performed miracles, that thereby proving himself worthy to be believed,

Luke IX.
58.

Matt. V.
16.

John XXI.
15.

Matt. VII.
16.

he might bring men unto him, and introduce holiness into the world. This was his great object. And to effect it, not only did he perform miracles; but he threatened hell; he promised the kingdom of heaven; he gave his wonderful laws; and all these things he did, that he might render us like unto the angels. And what do I say, that, to effect this object, Christ did all these things? Tell me, if ye were given the choice, whether to raise the dead in the name of Christ, or to die for his name's sake, which would ye prefer? Would ye not surely prefer the latter? But the one is a miracle, the other a work. And if ye were offered the power of changing hay into gold, or of despising all riches as hay, would ye not choose the latter? And justly so; for by this men would be most persuaded. For if they beheld you change hay into gold, they would like Simon, desire to possess the same miraculous power with yourselves, and their love of riches would increase. But if they had seen gold despised as hay, they would long since have been cleansed from this disease. See ye not, that it is a good life, which most availeth. Let no one therefore look for miracles. The devil grieveth when he is cast out from the body, but much more, when he beholdeth the soul freed from sin. For in sin lieth his greatest strength. For this Christ died, that he might destroy sin, through which came confusion and death into the world. If ye remove sin, ye have cut through the sinews of the devil, bruised his head, loosed his whole power, dispersed his host, and exhibited the greatest of miracles. This is not my doctrine, but that of the blessed Paul, who after saying: 'Covet earnestly the best gifts, and yet shew I unto

you a more excellent way,' added that love, not the gift of working miracles, was the root of every virtue. If we exercise charity, and all the wisdom to be derived thence, we shall not need miracles, and if we exercise not charity, miracles will profit us nothing. Revolving therefore in our minds all these things, in which the apostolical power consisted, let us emulate the same. And if ye need to be further confirmed therein, hear the words of Peter: 'Behold we have forsaken all, and followed thee;' what shall we have therefore?' and Christ answered: 'ye shall sit upon twelve thrones, and every one that hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.' Let us therefore, foregoing the advantages of this present life, consecrate ourselves to Christ, that we may, according to his wish, be like unto the Apostles, and enjoy eternal life, which may all of us obtain, through the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be glory and power, world without end. Amen."

1. Cor. XII.
31.

Matt. XIX.
27—29.

In speaking of the carnal-minded Jews, to whom Christ refused the miraculous signs, which they required of him, because they had been demanded of him, only to tempt him, he says: "To require signs of the Lord, is now, as in former days, to tempt him; for even at this present time there are those, who seek for miracles, and say: wherefore are there signs no longer? *If ye believe, as ye ought to believe; and love Christ, as it behoveth you to love him, ye would not stand in need of miracles.*"

Hom. in Jo-
an. XXIV.

Chrysostom, indeed, questioned not the truth of the miracles, which were said to be wrought

upon the graves of martyrs, or by their relics ; and he thought to perceive therein the operation of the same divine grace, which had worked by means of these holy men, while they lived upon earth. At the same time, he always said, that Christians ought not to seek for miracles ; that miracles had only been necessary at the first establishment of the church ; that the influence exercised by Christianity over all mankind might be now considered the greatest of miracles ; that he, who had once attained unto faith, needed signs no longer ; that unless the heart be right, all miracles are vain ; and that it is by the absence of sensible signs, that our faith is proved. To those therefore, who required signs, as proofs of the divine power of Christianity, Chrysostom replied not by an appeal to miracles, which men imagined to be still wrought, but by arguments to prove, that miracles were no longer necessary. Thus he says : “ Who if he beheld the heavens opened, and Christ himself coming in the clouds, encircled by all the hosts of heaven, with fiery streams issuing forth from before him, thousands standing and trembling in his presence, who would not fall down and worship him as God ? But would such a worship be accounted unto the Gentile for faith ? Surely not. This would not be faith, being produced by necessity, and by the evidence of things, which are seen. It would not be the result of free choice,¹—the mind being constrained by the greatness of the sight. For as the evidence is more clear, and the conviction more enforced, in so much will the measure of faith be diminished. On this account are signs no longer given. Hear the words of Christ to Thomas : ‘ Blessed are they, that have not seen, and yet have believed,’

Hom. in
I Cor. VI.

John XX.
29.

¹ οὐκ ἔστι το πρᾶγμα προαιρεσεως.

and that miracles were to cease, and that in future we were to know Christ through faith, Paul hath declared, saying: ‘ We walk by faith, not by sight.’ Again: “ I am constantly asked, wherefore did all those, who were formerly baptized, speak with tongues? And why are we now deprived of this gift of grace? It is not, that God would thereby dishonor us, but that we may gain still greater honor. In those days men had but lately been converted from idolatry, their minds were more insensible than now, they clave to things material, and comprehended not the nature of spiritual gifts; they had not yet become acquainted with divine grace, which can only be perceived through faith. Therefore were signs given unto them. For of spiritual gifts some are invisible, and are alone to be discerned by faith; but others exhibit a sensible sign for the conviction of unbelievers. Remission of sins is a thing spiritual, an invisible gift; for we cannot discern with the eyes of the flesh the manner in which we are cleansed from sin; but to speak with tongues, although it proceedeth from an invisible operation of the Spirit, yet at the same time bringeth with it a sensible sign, easily perceived even by unbelievers; for the gift of tongues, being externally discerned, is a manifestation and proof of the invisible operation wrought within the soul. I need no miracle now, because I have learnt, without a sign, to believe in the Lord. The unbeliever needeth a pledge, but I, who am a believer, need neither a pledge nor a sign. Though I speak not with tongues, I know that I am cleansed from my sins.” Chrysostom therefore believed, that the Holy Spirit, whence all miracles are derived, continued to abide with the church in the same manner, as during the

II Cor. V. 7.
Hom. de
Pentecost I.

days of the Apostles; and that it was only in those outward appearances, in which the Holy Spirit had at times manifested itself, that any difference existed. He constantly reminded his hearers, that the miracles, by which divine revelations have been accompanied, only profited those, whose minds were in a state fitted to turn them to a good account. He thus compares the faithful Samaritans with the unbelieving Jews: "The Samaritans without signs shewed great faith in the Saviour, but the Jews ceased not to require signs, and to tempt him. Thus is a well-disposed soul in every instance requisite. Truth, if it reach such a soul, easily subdueth it. And should truth not be victorious, it ariseth not from the inefficacy of truth, but from the insensibility of the soul. For to pure eyes the sun readily illumineth all things, and should it fail to give light, the fault lieth in the disease of the eyes, not in a deficiency of the solar power." In allusion to a miracle, he said: "To believe such an appearance requireth not only the eyes of the body, but likewise those of the mind." Again: "But one thing is needful, to love God sincerely; all other things will follow of themselves. For unto those, who love God, even that, which appeareth injurious, is profitable; as, in like manner, to those, who love him not, that, which is in itself beneficial, proveth detrimental. The miracles, which Christ wrought, and the doctrines, which he preached, became to the Jews a stumbling block; on account of his miracles they sought to kill him. The malefactor on the cross, notwithstanding the pain and ignominy, which he underwent, not only received no injury from such suffering, but even derived thence the greatest gain." And again: "Tell me, what benefit did Judas

Hom. in Jo-
an. XXXV.

Hom. in Jo-
an. XVII.

Hom. in
Rom. XV.

Hom. in
Joan. X.

derive from being with the Lord? Of what advantage was the law to the Jews? Paradise to Adam? Moses to those in the desert? Wherefore, laying aside all other considerations, let us look to one thing only, the manner in which we may best perform our part. And, if we act thus, Satan himself shall not overcome us, rather shall we be profited, by his inciting us to a greater watchfulness over ourselves."

The belief in magic, which in those days was mingled with religion, had a very prejudicial influence upon the opinions commonly entertained concerning the Sacraments; for men were thereby led to regard them as things miraculous; and without considering the disposition of mind, with which the believer ought to seek the means of grace, they ascribed to their outward signs a supernatural power of removing sin. We have already shewn the injurious effects of these views, in respect to the sacrament of baptism, and the manner, in which they were combated by Chrysostom. They produced effects equally prejudicial with regard to the supper of the Lord. Many continued to live on in sin, and without having previously prepared their minds for a meet participation of the holy mysteries, attended the Lord's table upon one or more of the chief festivals, confiding in the supernatural effects of a mere external ceremony. Chrysostom frequently endeavored to expose their error; he shewed the necessity of preparing the soul for a worthy reception of this means of grace, and he recommended a more frequent participation of it, according to the usage of the primitive Church, in which this celebration of the communion of believers with their Redeemer, and through him with one another, had been an essential part of every performance of divine

Hom. in
Ephes. III. service.¹ Thus he says: "I observe that many partake of the body of the Lord rashly and without due consideration, more from habit and prescription, than from reason and reflection. During the fast of Lent, and at the festival of Epiphany every one partaketh of the sacred mysteries, whatsoever may be the state of his mind. Yet it is not thus, that this holy sacrament ought to be received; for it is neither the Festival of Epiphany, nor the forty days fast, but sincerity and purity of soul alone, which can render you worthy to draw near the table of the Lord. With sincerity and purity of soul draw near always; without them, never. For Paul saith: 'As often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come;' that is, ye call to remembrance your

I Cor. XI.
26.

¹ In a discourse preached at Constantinople, Chrysostom says (Hom. in Hebr. XVII.): "Many partake of this sacrifice once only in the year, others twice, others again often. I address myself to all, not only to those here, but likewise to the monks dwelling in the wilderness; for they partake of the Lord's Supper but once a year, and oftentimes once only in two years. What then? Whom shall we most commend? whether those who partake of it once? or those who partake of it oftener? or those who partake of it more rarely? Neither those who only partake of it once, nor those who partake of it oftener, nor those who partake of it more rarely; but those who draw nigh with a pure conscience, with a pure heart, and are leading blameless lives. Let such always draw nigh; and, if they be not such, let them not approach once. Tell me, I beseech you, if ye partake of the Lord's Supper once yearly, do ye believe, that the forty days of fast are sufficient for the cleansing of your sins during the whole year? And do ye, after the lapse of a week, give yourselves up to your former ways of life? Tell me, if upon recovering from a long disease, ye return after forty days to the same food, which caused your sickness, do ye not throw away your former labour? I do not say this to prevent your participation of the communion once a year, but rather from a desire, that ye should always partake of it."

salvation, and Christ's sacrifice. Consider the frugality and abstinence observed by those, who partook of the ancient sacrifice! How many purifications they underwent! But ye in approaching a sacrifice, at which even the angels are astonished, assignest to it limits, and confine it to stated times and seasons. Tell me, would ye approach the altar with unwashed hands? Surely not; ye had rather wholly keep away, than come with unclean hands. Thus scrupulous in trifles, ye fear not to approach and touch the holy mysteries with unclean souls. But the sacred elements are held in the hands for a short time only, whereas they become entirely blended with the soul. See ye not how cleansed and resplendent are the sacred vessels upon the table of the Lord? more cleansed, more holy, more resplendent, than these, should be our souls. It is for our sake, that these vessels are thus cleansed; they partake not of the things, which are contained within them; they are not conscious of them. But we partake of them; we benefit by them. Ye would not have the sacred elements placed in unclean vessels, yet ye fear not to approach the holy table with unclean souls. I perceive herein much inconsistency. At other times, although perchance purified, ye approach not once the holy table;¹ but at the festival of Easter ye draw near, though sin have been committed by you. Oh, the power of habit, and of prejudice! Daily is the supper of the Lord spread; daily do we stand at the altar; and no one partaketh of the holy feast. I say not this, that ye should

¹ Chrysostom means, when ye have not so far violated Christian duties, as to have incurred the punishment of exclusion from the congregation conformably to the laws of the Church.

Hom. de
Bap. Chris-
ti. Tom. II.
f. 373.

inconsiderately partake of the holy mysteries, but that ye should render yourselves worthy to partake thereof." He thus spoke upon the feast of Epiphany: "I know that many of you, according to the custom of this festival are about to draw near the table of the Lord. Ye ought not, as I have often said before, to regulate the times of your communicating by festivals; but let the conscience first be cleansed, and then may ye partake of the holy supper. For he, who is purified by repentance, may, not only on festivals, but at all times, meetly partake of the sacred mysteries, and receive benefit from these gifts of God. But since repentance, from I know not what cause, is often neglected; and since many, upon beholding the recurrence of this festival, regard not their innumerable sins, but come forward, impelled, as it were, by the day, to partake of these holy mysteries, which, in such a state of mind, it is not permitted them even to look upon; we shall ourselves forbid the approach of those, who are manifestly unworthy; and those, whose sins are hidden from us, we shall leave to God, who knoweth the secrets of every soul." Again he says: "The supper of the Lord, which is this day to be celebrated in no wise differeth from that, which is celebrated on the festival of Easter. They are one and the same. The same grace of the Spirit is present in both. Easter endeth not,—on Fridays, on Sabbaths, on Sundays, on the days of martyrs, the same remembrance of Christ's sacrifice is celebrated: 'for as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death, till he come.' Time can assign no limits to the sacrifice. And this ye well know; for ye behold no difference in the celebration of the communion at Easter except

Hom. in
I Tim. V.

I Cor. XI.
26.

in the gaudy coverings,¹ and in the glittering throng." On a similar occasion he said: "Through the holy communion thou art about to receive a king; when therefore the king entereth thy soul, great tranquillity, much stillness, and profound peace of thought should prevail therein."

Hom. de Beato Philag. Tom. I. f. 500.

In those days the Church enjoined no confession previous to the celebration of the holy communion, nor indeed at any other time. When Chrysostom exhorts his flock to a confession of their sins, he means the silent confession of the heart before God.² Since therefore no confession preceded the Lord's Supper, the liturgy of the communion service was so ordered, as to excite men to self-examination, and to deter those from approaching the altar, who, on account of their evil lives, merited exclusion from the congregation. With this view, Chrysostom thus availed himself of the short, but important demands of this Liturgy: "Hear ye not the words of the deacon, during the celebration of the holy communion, who constantly calleth out: *Know one another.*"³ Doth he not entrust

Hom. contra Jud. I.

¹ τῶν κοσμικῶν παραπετασμάτων. The coverings drawn over the holy mysteries.

² Thus he says, Concio de Lazar. IV. : "Tell me, wherefore thou art ashamed, and blushest to confess thy sins? Thou tellest them not to a man, that he should rebuke thee; nor confessest them to thy fellow-servant, that he should make them known. Thou discoverest thy wound to him, who careth for thee, the merciful Lord, the Physician. He desireth that thou shouldest confess them to him, not that he should punish, but that he should pardon thee; not that he, the all-seeing One, should know them; but that thou mayest know how great a debt he forgiveth thee."

³ ἐπιγινωσκετε ἀλλήλους. That is, see if ye be all really members of Christ, and therefore entitled to partake of the supper of the Lord; and likewise, if there be not among you some, who, on account of great transgressions, deserve to be excluded from the communion of the Church.

Hom. ad
Heb. XVII.

to you the strict examination of your brethren?" That no one might plead as an excuse his ignorance of the danger connected with an unworthy participation of the supper of the Lord, and since no man can look into the heart of another, the priest, says Chrysostom, requires all those to retire, whose consciences admonish them of their own unworthiness; "for standing aloft,¹ seen by all, and raising his hand, he calleth in that moment of awful stillness with a loud and solemn voice: '*Holy things for the holy.*'"²

Hom. in
II Cor. IV.

At the same time, that he exhorted men to repentance, he warned them against the delusion of those, who considered atonement for sin to consist in certain mortifications of the flesh, and other outward performances, an error which, he says, was particularly prevalent among the women, and, as he had done in two writings already cited, he called attention to that Christian repentance, which sprung from the heart. Thus he says: "Let us not then despair on account of our sins, neither let us become slothful; but, while we acknowledge our sins, let our hearts be contrite, and let not our repentance consist in mere words. For I know many, who profess to grieve for their sins, and yet give no real proof of their repentance. They fast indeed and wear sackcloth, but are more greedy after gain than hucksters; are more a prey to anger than wild beasts; and delight more to speak evil of their neighbour, than others do to speak good of their neighbour. This is a mere

¹ Upon the steps of the altar.

² τα ἅγια τοῖς ἁγίοις. The congregation then responded, as we learn from Cyril of Jerusalem and the apostolical constitutions: There is but one holy, one Lord, Jesus Christ, εἰς ἅγιος, εἰς κυριος, Ἰησους Χριστος, in order to shew, that no man of himself is holy, but that every one may be made holy by a communion with him, who alone is holy.

mask, a shadow, of repentance; it is not repentance. In such cases it were well to say, take heed, 'lest Satan should get an advantage of us, for we are not ignorant of his devices.' Some he destroyeth through their sins, others he bringeth to perdition through their repentance, by suffering them to gather thence no fruit. For those, whom he cannot ruin in a common way, he inciteth to greater exertions, that he may render their repentance unfruitful, by persuading them, that they have made full atonement for their sins, and may therefore rest in security. If we fast, and are thereby filled with arrogance, our fasting will prove to us an injury, not a benefit. Humble therefore thine heart, that God may be near to thee; for 'the Lord is nigh unto them that are of a contrite heart.' If thou have committed sin, lament not, because thou hast incurred punishment, for that is nothing; but because thou hast offended the Lord, who is so merciful, so good to thee, and so solicitous for thy salvation, that he hath given up his only son unto death for thy sake. Lament therefore unceasingly; for thus to lament, is truly to confess thy sins."

II Cor. II.
11.

Ps. XXXIV.
18.

The prevailing spirit of an age is wont to reveal itself in the moral judgments and opinions of those, whom the spirit of the gospel has but imperfectly enlightened, by an appreciation of certain virtues and a reprobation of certain vices, while it judges more mildly, and oftentimes entirely excuses other sins, which flatter favorite passions. And in this, as in all other ages, men were accustomed to condemn the grosser excesses of sensuality, but not to heed the more subtle and therefore the more perilous impulses of selfishness, such as pride and envy. Those, who had acquired the power of controlling gross

Hom. in
Matt. XL.

sensuality, could by fasting or other mortifications of the flesh obtain for themselves the reputation of saints, while under the semblance of outward sanctity they concealed the impulses of inward depravity. Chrysostom likewise combated this delusion of his age. He says: "How shall we deliver ourselves from this disease? By the reflection, that an envious man ought, as much as a fornicator, to be excluded from the congregation of the church. But envy is now viewed with indifference, and we therefore neglect to guard our souls against it. But were it acknowledged to be a sin, we should easily be deterred therefrom. Weep then, and sigh; lament, and call upon God; acknowledge yourselves under the thralldom of a dreadful sin, and repent; and if ye be animated by such feelings, ye shall soon be delivered from the disease. Ye reply: who is ignorant of envy being a sin? No one indeed is ignorant thereof; but which of us condemneth himself for giving way to envy? Who imploreth the favor of God to free him from this disease? I fear no one. But if a man fast, and give the smallest sum of money to the poor, and continue ever so envious, he thinketh not to have wrought evil, though ruled by the basest of all passions." Again: "Pride alone sufficeth to corrupt every virtue of the soul, be it alms, or be it prayer, fasting or aught besides; 'for that, which is highly esteemed among men is abomination in the sight of God.' Therefore it is not only fornication and adultery, which pollute a man, but likewise, and much more than these, pride." He especially exhorted his hearers to a sincere humility grounded upon self-knowledge, as when he says: "He best knoweth himself, who accounteth himself, as nothing. On the other hand he knoweth him-

Hom. in
Joan. XVI.

Luke XVI.
15.

Hom. in
Matt. XXV.

self least, who is lifted up by pride. Wherefore we are wont to say of the proud man: he knoweth not himself. And what can he know, who knoweth not himself? For as he, who knoweth himself, discerneth rightly all things; so he, who knoweth not himself, cannot form a right judgment upon any subject." He distinguished a truly humble state of mind¹ from that false humility consisting in a display of words,² which he observed among many of his cotemporaries. He said: "Humility bringeth much gain, but it is difficult to find. The humility of words is indeed abundant, and more than sufficient; but true humility is no where to be found."³

Hom. in
Tim. 11.

In those days, superstitious persons hoped to atone for their sins by making presents to the churches,⁴ and by offering splendid vessels

¹ ταπεινοφροσυνη.

² ταπεινοβήημοσυνη.

³ Thus also Hom. in Heb. XXVII.: "If we declare a thousand bad things of ourselves, but are displeased, if we hear the same things spoken of us by others, this is neither humility, nor confession of sins, but a display and vanity. Ye reply, how can the calling ourselves sinners, be a display? yea, truly it is; for we thereby obtain the character of humility, we are admired and praised. If we speak otherwise of ourselves, we are despised, wherefore we act as we do, for the sake of vainglory. But what is humility? It is to acknowledge our faults, when accused by others, and to bear their revilings; and even this is not humility, but candour."

⁴ Chrysostom says Hom. in Matt. LXXX: "If ye see any one who hath provided sacred vessels, and purposeth to make an offering of them for the altar, or busieth himself in preparing any other ornament either for the walls or pavement of the Church, require not of him to sell it, or to undo what he hath done, lest ye take from his zeal. But if, before he prepare such things, he ask your counsel, desire him to give it to the poor." Jerome complains of the vanity which manifested itself in the making of presents to the Church. Commentar. in Jerem. II: "At nunc publicè recitantur offerentium nomina (their names were read out of the Dyptych with the prayers of the church) et redemptio peccatorum mutatur in laudem. non meminerunt viduæ illius

Hom. in
Matt. L.

to the altar. Against trusting in the merits of such works, Chrysostom says: "Let us not believe, that, after defrauding widows and orphans, we shall ensure our salvation by giving to the altar a golden cup, adorned with precious stones. If thou wish to honour the sacrifice¹ of the Lord, offer, as a gift, thy soul, for which he suffered death. Let that be of gold; for if thy soul be inferior to lead, or to the potter's clay, what profiteth it, though the vessel be golden? Let us not then only look to offering

in evangelio, quæ in gazophylacium duo æra mittendo, omnium divitum vicit donaria."

¹ There seems always to have been connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper some idea of a sacrifice, similar to that which existed under the old dispensation. We observe this at the *agapæ*, or love-feasts, where each person brought his offering, and the first-fruits of the corn and grape or wine as has been observed elsewhere in this vol. were usually presented to the altar. The sacred elements are ordered by our Rubric to be provided at the charge of the Parish, and we likewise severally offer our alms and oblations. The sacrifice which God demands, is that of our souls and bodies. We celebrate the Lord's Supper, as he commanded us, in remembrance of him, and we thereby give a *pignus*, or pledge, of our being of the number of the faithful; but the spiritual benefit to be imparted to us thereby, will vary with the state of each man's soul,—no limit can be assigned it, for who can set bounds to the influence of God's grace? And that the grace of God will be conferred on us in greater or less measure according to the state of purity and holiness, with which we partake of the sacred mysteries, is surely true. Chrysostom has forcibly pointed out, how needful it is for us duly to examine ourselves, before we approach them; he says, Hom. in Matt. LXXXII: "Consider how incensed ye are against the betrayer, and against those who crucified Christ. Take heed then, that ye yourselves be not guilty of the body and blood of Christ. They cruelly slayed the holy body; ye, after so many and great benefits, partake of it with an unclean soul." Ἐννοήσον πῶς ἀγανακτεῖς κατα τοῦ προδοτοῦ, κατα τῶν σταυρωσαντων. Σκοπεῖ τοιουνυ, μη και αὐτος ἐνοχος γενῆ, του σωματος και του αιματος τῶν Χριστοῦ. Ἐκεῖνοι κατεσφαξαν το παναγιον σῶμα, συ δε ῤυπαρα ὑποδεχη ψυχῆ μετὰ τοσαυτας εὐεργεσιας. J. C. S.

golden vessels, but let us rather offer good works; for they are more precious than gold, being obtained without avarice and robbery. The Church is neither a magazine of silver nor of gold, but a community of angels, wherefore we have need of souls; and it is for the sake of our souls that God is pleased to accept such presents. That table was not of silver at which Christ sat with his disciples, nor was that cup of gold from which he distributed his blood, but yet those things were precious through the power of the Holy Spirit. Would ye honor the body of the Lord? Neglect it not when naked. Honor it not here with silken coverings, while ye suffer it to perish without, from cold and nakedness. For he, who said: 'this is my body; and with these words gave the bread;' the same said: 'I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat;' and 'inasmuch as ye did it not to one of the least of these, ye did it not to me.' The body of Christ requireth not coverings, but a pure soul which needeth much care. Let us then learn to be wise, and to honor Christ, as he desireth. For to the person honored, that honor is most acceptable which he himself desireth, not that, which we judge best. For Peter thought to honor Christ when he would have prevented him from washing his feet; but that which Peter desired, was no honor to Christ, but the contrary. Shew him the honor, which he commanded us to observe, as a law, and spend your money among the poor; for God needeth not golden vessels, but pure souls. I say not this to prevent your offering such gifts, but that with them ye may offer alms, and even give the preference to alms; for God indeed accepteth these gifts, but much rather accepteth he alms. In the one instance he, who offereth,

Matt.
XXVI. 26.

—XXV.42.

— — 45.

alone is benefited ; in the other he likewise, who receiveth. The one may be a gift proceeding from vanity ; the other cometh entirely of mercy and love.”

Chrysostom anxious to withdraw from man every prop of immorality, opposed the placing of any confidence in the intercession of the saints,¹ because many were thereby lulled into a state of security and indolence ; and were restrained from drawing out of the one fountain of all good, and from applying, in the concerns of their souls to the one Eternal Mediator. It is true, that Chrysostom did not reject the imploring of the intercessions of the saints, which custom prevailed at that time throughout the whole church ;—and this in itself is not unchristian, although not enjoined to us in the Bible, which only expressly directs us to pray for our living brethren, and to seek their intercessions. But he always directed men from the saints, as the mere instruments of divine grace, to God and Christ. Thus he says : “ If ourselves be indolent, we cannot obtain salvation through the aid of others ; but if we be watchful, we may obtain it, and through ourselves rather than through others. For God had rather bestow his grace upon ourselves, than upon others for us ; that we, being desirous to appease his wrath, may have confidence in him, and become amended. Thus had he compassion upon the woman of Canaan ; thus did he forgive the sins of the woman, who washed his feet with her tears, thus did he accord salvation to the thief upon the cross, without any mediator or patron. I do not say these things, to prevent your supplicating the saints, but that ye may be neither negligent nor

Hom. in
Matt. V.

¹ See p. 47.

faint-hearted, nor, falling asleep, entrust to others the things which belong only to yourselves." And in another discourse he says: "Ye need no mediator, with God; ye need not to run to and fro and flatter others. If ye even be deserted and have no intercessor, and only through yourselves call upon God, ye will be surely heard. God is not wont to hear so readily, when he is invoked for us by others, as when ourselves invoke him, though we should be weighed down by a heavy burden of sins. For though we should have wronged men ever so much, we easily soften their displeasure by appearing before them morning, noon, and evening; how much more then should we not act thus towards God? Ye say, that ye are unworthy, then become worthy by constant prayer. For that the unworthy man may by constant prayer become worthy; that God heareth sooner, when he is called upon by ourselves, than when he is called upon by others for us; and that he often delayeth the gift, not to make us despair, and to dismiss us with empty hands, but to accord to us still greater gifts;—these three points I will endeavour to explain to you by the history of the Canaanitish woman, which was this day read unto you. A certain woman of Canaan came unto Christ, beseeching him to have compassion upon her daughter, crying aloud unto him: 'Have mercy on me, O Lord, thou son of David; my daughter is grievously vexed with a devil.' Behold a strange woman, a barbarian, without the kingdom of the Jews: and yet by her continued entreaties she was made worthy. Christ not only bestowed upon her the dignity of the children of God, after having shortly before likened her to a dog, but he dismissed her with much praise: 'Oh

Savil. V.
416.

Matt. XV.
22.

Matt. XV.
28.

woman, great is thy faith! be it unto thee even as thou wilt.' But if Christ say: 'Great is thy faith;' seek no other proof of the greatness of her soul. Secondly, let us learn hence, that we can effect more by prayer through ourselves, than through others. When she had cried out, — — 23. the Apostles came and besought him saying: 'Send her away; for she crieth after us.' But — — 24. he answered and said: 'I am not sent, but unto the lost sheep of the House of Israel.' But when she herself came, and persevered, — — 27. saying: 'Yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table.' Then he granted her request and said: 'Oh! woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt.' And, thirdly, he replied not to her request at first; but when she came a second and a third time, he granted her request, and thereby taught us, that he postponed the gift, not in order to refuse it her, but that the perseverance of the woman should be made known to us all. Ye only hear the words of Christ; I read his thoughts. I know what he might have said: I will not that the treasure within her soul remain concealed. I wait and am silent, that it may be revealed, and made manifest to every one."

From this point of view he sought to draw the attention of his hearers to that, which was purely human in the lives of the Holy Men of the Old and New Testaments, in order to show of how much human nature, with all its weakness, was capable, when submitting itself to the guidance of the Holy Spirit; and thereby, in opposition to the prevalent superstitious adoration, to create in their minds a desire of emulating them. Thus he says: "Paul oftentimes speaketh of his weakness and persecutions, as for instance: 'If I must needs glory, I will

Hom. in
I Cor. VI.

glory of the things which concern my infirmities.' Again : ' I take pleasure in infirmities : ' and he then addeth in which : ' in reproaches, in necessities, in distresses for Christ's sake.' And again : ' I was with you in weakness and in fear, and in much trembling.' What sayest thou ? Did Paul fear dangers ? Yea, he feared, and feared them much ; for although he was Paul, still was he a man. But this is no charge against Paul ; it setteth forth the infirmity of his nature, and the strength of his will ; in that fearing death and stripes, he was not led by fear to act unworthily. Those, who say, that he feared not, not only do not honor him, but take away much from his merit. For what perseverance, what wisdom was there, in encountering dangers, if he feared not ? I admire him, because he feared, and not merely because he feared, but because he trembled in dangers, yet victoriously underwent all and yielded to none, purifying the world, and sowing the gospel everywhere on earth and sea." And on another occasion he says : " If, as things were, men desired to sacrifice bulls to the Apostles, to what idolatry would they not have been led, had they not given many proofs of human weakness ? "

II Cor. XI.
30.

II Cor. XII.
10.

I Cor. II. 3.

Hom. in
II Cor. III.
Acts XIV.

We have already observed the great disadvantage arising from an imperfect perception of the original Christian idea of a universal priesthood, and of the universal spiritual character of all Christians. The spirit of Christianity had given to all men a higher law, and a higher principle of life. It admitted not of a distinction between clergy and laity, between ordinary and higher life, but glorified the whole life of mankind, as holy and consecrated to God. In opposition to this spirit of Christianity there

had been drawn a distinction between priests and laity, ecclesiastics and men of the world; between perfect Christians, Christian philosophers or monks, who had withdrawn from an intercourse with mankind, and ordinary Christians engaged in public and domestic life. While the ideal of Christian perfection was held to be exhibited only for the one, the requisites for others might, it was deemed, be considerably lowered. The purpose of Christianity to make all the relations of life, forms of manifestation for godliness, was in this wise quite forgotten; and worldly people, who looked up to the rigid life of those, who had withdrawn from the world, as to an unattainable height, knew how to excuse all that was bad in themselves under the plea of living in the world, of having wives and children, and of a holy life not being therefore required of them. They thought, that the sermon on the mount contained chiefly ideals,¹ or the counsels of Christian perfection, for those who had withdrawn from the world,—not rules of life for all believers. It fell particularly to Chrysostom to observe the pernicious influence of this unchristian view upon the lives of men in the great cities, wherein he ministered; and he held it very important to work against it, by reviving the original Christian conviction of a universal priestly calling,—of the universal spiritual character of all Christians,—and by endeavoring to shew, that through Christianity all things were made spiritual. He introduces in a discourse, the excuse which was made by many, when called

¹ I have ventured to adopt this word in my translation, which the Germans have adopted from the French, and which is originally derived from the Greek, since there is no single word in our language, which expresses its meaning. J. C. S.

upon to lead a true Christian life: "How can we, say they, unless we give up our wives, our children, and our worldly affairs?" To which Chrysostom replies: "Why not? Is marriage a hindrance? your wives are given to you as help mates, not as ensnarers. Had not the prophet¹ a wife? Yet marriage did not prevent his receiving the Holy Spirit. He held companionship with his wife, and was a prophet. Had not Moses a wife? Yet he smote the rock, made the thunder and hail to cease, talked with God, and stayed the divine wrath. Had not Abraham a wife? And he was the father of nations, and of the Church; for he had Isaac his son, through whom he manifested the greatness of his faith. Did he not offer up his child, the fruit of his marriage? Was he not a father, and did he not love God? Did he not become a priest from his own bowels? priest and father? Was not nature overcome, and did not the love of God prevail? Were not his own bowels trodden under foot, and did not the love of God rise superior? Was not the father cast off, and the lover of God crowned? Behold, him all in all, both the lover of his child and of God. Did marriage prevent this? And what shall I say of Christ? He was born of a virgin, but was present at a marriage, and brought his gift. For his mother said unto him: 'they have no wine,' and he made the water wine, honoring marriage among virgins, and commending it by the gift, so that ye might not abominate marriage but hate fornication." Again he says: "The greatest of all things are love, and meekness, which are even greater than celibacy."² And again, he introduces the following words, which

Hom. in
Oziam. IV.

John II. 3,

Hom. in
Matt.
XLVI.

¹ Isaiah. Vid. Isaiah VIII. 3.

² το μεγιστον ἀγαπη και ἐπιεικεια, ἡ και παρθενιας ὑπερηκοντισεν.

Hom. in
Matt. VII.

he had often been compelled to hear from worldly people whom he exhorted to conduct themselves according to the strictness of Christian life: "What dost thou desire us to do? To take possession of the mountains, and become monks?" To which he replies: "No. I grieve, because ye think, that it belongeth only to monks to observe soberness and chastity; although Christ in his sermon on the mount gave laws to all men. I forbid not marriage, nor would I prevent your enjoyments, but I desire that soberness should be observed therein."

Hom. in
Matt.
XLIII.

And again: "Tell me not that thou hast a wife, and children, and rulest over a household, and that therefore thou art unable to accomplish the things which I require of thee. If thou have none of all these things, and be negligent, they are of no avail. And if thou be surrounded by all these things, and be zealous, thou shalt secure the prize. One thing only is to be sought, the determination of a good spirit; and neither age nor poverty, nor riches, nor circumstances, nor any other thing shall be able to hinder thee from accomplishing the things required of thee."

Hom. ad
Hebr. X.

And: "Every believer, in as far as he is a believer, is a saint; and though he be a layman still is he a saint; for the Apostle saith: 'The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband.' Behold how faith worketh sanctification!

I. Cor. VII.
14.

Let us not only enter a prison, when we see a monk therein, but also when we see a layman; for he likewise is a saint, and our brother."

Hom. ad
Hebr. VII.

Again: "It is not permitted to the layman to live otherwise than the monk except with regard to marriage; that indulgence is granted to the layman; in all other respects it behoveth him to act as doth the monk. Those who are

called blessed by Christ, were not monks alone, or the whole world would be undone, and we should have to accuse God of cruelty. Were the beatitudes addressed to monks alone, could no laymen attain unto their holiness,—God himself having permitted marriage, would thereby have destroyed all men. For if, as married men, we cannot live the same Christian lives as do the monks, all is lost, and the exercise of holiness is confined to a narrow sphere; and how should ‘marriage be honorable,’ being to us so great a hindrance? What then shall we say? It is possible, yea it is very possible, to have wives, and at the same time, if we desire it, to follow holiness. How? If having wives, we be as though we had none.¹ If we rejoice not in our earthly possessions; if we use this world as not abusing it. If marriage seem to many a stumbling block, let such now learn, that the hindrance lieth not in marriage, but in themselves, who make a bad use of it. For neither doth wine make drunken, but an evil disposition and an inordinate use of it. Use marriage with a chaste mind, and ye shall be the first in the kingdom of heaven, and enjoy all good things.” In explaining the words of the salutation of St. Paul: “to the saints which are in Ephesus” he says: “Behold, he calleth them holy, who had wives, children, and servants, for that he calleth them thus, is manifest from the end of the epistle, as when he saith: ‘let the wives be subject to their own husbands.’ And again: ‘children obey your parents,’ and ‘servants be obedient to your masters;’ so that even laymen

Heb. XIII.
4.

I. Cor. VII.
29—32.

Hom. ad
Eph. I.

Ephes. V.
24.

Ephes. VI.
1.

¹ He means to say, that we ought not to withdraw our minds from God, and from the fulfilment of our duties towards him by too exclusive a devotion to them, or in other words by making idols of them.

were called by him saints and believers.”¹ In another discourse he says to those, who put forward to the heathen the lives of the monks in the wildernesses, in order to prove to them, that Christianity can be exercised in worldly affairs: “Are ye not then ashamed to call yourselves Christians, and to refer the heathen to others, as if ye were unable to shew him in your own lives the things which a Christian ought to do? For he will immediately say, what need have I to go to the mountains, and to withdraw to the deserts? For if it be not possible to lead a true Christian life in the midst of cities, it proveth the faultiness of your form of religion. Shew me one who hath a wife, children, and household, who leadeth a Christian life. What shall we reply to these things? Must we not cast down our eyes and be ashamed? Christ taught not thus, but commanded ‘our light to shine before men,’ not before mountains, deserts, or fastnesses. And I say not these things to blame those who have retired to the mountains, but out of grief that the dwellers in the cities have expelled holiness from among them. Let us then, I beseech you, lead back wisdom thence hither, that the cities may become true cities.”

Chrysostom frequently called attention to the different form of religion in the old and new Testaments with respect to a universal priestly calling, as when he says: “Sometimes no difference is made between priests and laymen, as, for instance, in a participation of the Holy Supper, for of this we are all equally thought worthy. Not as in the old Testament, where the priest ate one thing and the layman another, and where it was not permitted to the people to partake of the same things, of which the priest

Hom. ad
Rom.
XXVI.

Matt. V.
16.

Hom. in
II. Cor.
XVIII.

Lev. X. 14.
Num. XVIII
10, 18.

¹ ὡς και τους κοσμικους αγιους και πιστους καλεισθαι.

partook. It is not so now. One body, one cup, is offered to all; and the people take a part in the prayers. Common prayers are offered up both by the priests and the congregation, for those possessed of evil spirits, and for the penitents; ¹ and all say the same prayer, in which the divine mercy is invoked. Again, when we forbid those, who cannot partake ² of the Holy Supper, to approach the sacred rails, another prayer is begun, and we all with one accord cast ourselves to the ground, and all with one accord arise. Then, when it is time to impart and receive the salutation of peace, we all alike embrace each other. Again after the consecration of the sacred elements, the priest prayeth for the people, and the people for the priest. For the answer of the congregation: '*Peace be with thy spirit,*' signifieth nothing more than this. The thanksgiving is likewise in common; for it is not the priest alone, but all the people, who return thanks. For when he calleth upon them to render thanks, and he hath received their acknowledgment, that '*it is meet and right so to do,*' he then beginneth the thanksgiving. And wherefore should we wonder, that the people raise their voice together with the priest, when they with one accord,

¹ Those namely, who, according to the ancient Liturgy, were led into the church before the Communion Service, in order to benefit by the prayer of the church (which was read aloud by the Deacon, and in which the whole congregation joined in different places by regular forms, to show that they took a part therein,) and to receive the blessing of the Bishop.

² The Heathen, Catechumens, Penitents, and Possessed (*ἐνεργουμένοι*) were all dismissed by the voice of the Deacon, before the commencement of the church-prayers connected with the celebration of the Lord's Supper,—so that the Baptized and those, who were not condemned to penance, were alone allowed to remain.

together with the very Cherubim and Powers Seraphic send above the holy song of praise to the Highest? ¹ I have said all these things in order that every one among us should be watchful, that we may learn, that we all form one body, not differing one from another more than one of our members differeth from another; and that we may not cast all care upon the priests, but that ourselves may be solicitous for the whole church as for one common body." Concerning the practical duties of this universal Christian priesthood, he says: "The merciful man is not cloathed in a garment reaching down to the ankles, neither carrieth he little bells about with him, nor is his head encircled by a crown, but he casteth around him the robe of benevolence, more holy than the garb of the priest, and is anointed with an oil, made of no earthly materials, but prepared by the Holy Spirit. He weareth a crown woven of mercy; for the Psalmist saith: 'he crowneth thee with loving kindness and tender mercies.' Instead of carrying a plate of gold upon his brow with the name of God written upon it, he himself becometh like unto God; for our Lord saith: 'ye shall be like unto your father which is in heaven.' Would ye behold his altar? Bezaleel hath not erected it, neither hath any other, but God himself,—not built of stones, but of materials more splendid than the heavens, of reasonable souls. But then, say ye, the priest only entereth the holy of holies. It is permitted to you likewise, if ye offer this sacrifice, to enter a still holier sanctuary, where no one is present, but your Father, who seeth you in secret, whither no

Hom. in
II. Cor.
XX.

Ps. CIII. 4.

Matt. V.
45.

¹ The Three Times Holy, or the celebrated song of the church, which was sung during the Communion.. Vid. Isaiah. VI. 3.

other eye pierceth. In the economy of the old Testament the sanctuary was separated by folding doors and by curtains, but now ye can openly bring your offering, and it is as if ye brought it into the innermost sanctuary, yea your sacrifice is performed in a manner more awful, than in the olden time; for if ye perform it in a becoming state of mind, and not for the sake of display, though the entire world should have seen you, yet shall ye have been seen by no one."

We here perceive, that Chrysostom, disconcerted on the one hand at the prevalent idea of a particular priesthood in the Church, and on the other hand at the prevalent view of monachism, had, by means of a true practical Christian spirit, emancipated himself from the influence of both these ideas. Thus was he led, by a contrast between the prevailing views of the Church, which had not been without effect upon him, and the pure Christian Spirit, which an ardent study of the Bible had infused into his soul, to contradict himself in many of his opinions. Thus did the spirit of Christian love, which animated him, compel him in some respects to condemn the monastic life, which he otherwise highly esteemed: "If any," he says, "have in him a trace of the ancient wisdom, forsaking the city, the forum, and the society of men, and ceasing to instruct others, he betaketh himself to the mountains. And if he be questioned concerning the cause of his retirement, he assigneth, as an excuse, that he withdraweth, lest he perish, or become more dead to godliness, which excuse is unpardonable. How much better were it even to become more dead to godliness and to profit others, than, remaining on the heights, to look down upon his perishing

Hom. ad
I Cor. VI.

brethren. For how shall we overcome our enemies, if the greater part of us have no heed to godliness, and those, who have a heed to it, withdraw far from the order of battle? No deed can be truly good, unless it impart benefit to others. This is manifest from the example of him, who returned the talent, which he had received whole, but was treated as a wicked and slothful servant, because he had added

Matt. XXV. nought thereunto. Wherefore, my brethren, though ye fast, though ye sleep upon the bare ground, though ye strew yourselves with ashes, though ye mourn without ceasing, yet if ye do no good to any one, ye shall have done no great thing; for this was the chief care of those great and holy men, who were in the beginning. Examine closely their lives, and ye will clearly see, that none of them ever looked to his own interest, but to that of his neighbour. Therefore did they shine forth so eminently. Moses worked many great signs and wonders; but nothing made him so great, as those blessed words, which he spoke to God, saying: ‘Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin;—and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book.’ Such was also David, wherefore he said: ‘Lo I have sinned, and I have done wickedly: but these sheep, what have they done? Let thine hand, I pray thee, be against me and my father’s house.’

II Sam. XXIV. 17. After having introduced some further examples drawn from the Old Testament, and especially that of the love of St. Paul from the

Rom. IX. 3. New, he continued: “Seek to imitate Paul, but if ye be not able, imitate at least those holy men, who shone forth in the Old Testament; thus shall ye find your own gain, if so be that ye seek the gain of your neighbour. Would ye learn this from common experience? If fire

break out in a house, and some of the neighbours, only looking to their own interests, and unwilling to expose themselves to danger, shut themselves up in their houses, lest any one enter therein and steal,—would they not thereby draw down upon themselves a heavy punishment? For the fire spreading around would burn all their possessions; and by having no care for the property of their neighbour, they would destroy their own. God willing to bind men together, so ordered the world, that in the gain of our neighbour is to be found our own. This were, however, a mere human motive to seek the advantage of our neighbour, but we must not seek it from such a motive, but because it is the will of God. If ye seek not the advantage of your neighbour, ye cannot attain unto salvation. Though yourselves should have reached to the highest perfection of monachism,¹ if ye care not for others, who are perishing, ye shall have no confidence before God. The blessed Paul saith: ‘ Though I bestow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.’ Behold how much Paul requireth of us! For he, who bestoweth his goods to feed the poor, seeketh not his own gain, but that of his neighbour. Yet Paul saith: This alone is not sufficient. It must be done with sincerity and true compassion. On this very account hath God ordained this as a law, in order that it might lead to the bond of love. Bearing therefore in our minds, that neither the renouncement of wealth, nor martyrdom, nor any thing besides, can avail us, if we have not the greatest measure of love, let us seek it be-

I Cor. XIII.
3.

¹ ἂν τὴν ἀκρὰν φιλοσοφίαν ἀσκήσῃ.

fore every other thing, that we may thereby attain to all present blessings, as well as to those, which are promised to us hereafter."

Chrysostom constantly refuted in his discourses the common grounds of excuse, by which his cotemporaries were wont to palliate their sins. Man indeed is at all times too ready to trace iniquity to some external source, instead of looking for it in his own breast. It was in all cases the chief endeavor of Chrysostom to direct men to self-examination. There were in particular two such prevalent grounds of excuse, either the idea of an irresistible blind fatality,¹ borrowed from the natural religion of the heathen, and entirely opposed to Christianity, as the religion of moral liberty; or a false view of the power of evil spirits according to heathen and Jewish opinions. This last doctrine is only to be made use of by Christians, in order to incite them to watchfulness over themselves, to maintain man in a consciousness of his need of assistance, and to make him seek a union with that almighty and victorious Spirit, which the Redeemer has promised to his believers; for the Christian must never forget, that he believes in him, who has deprived the kingdom of evil of its power. Chrysostom constantly combated both these two errors made use of for the palliation of sin. Thus he reproves those, "who profess to believe in Christ, but who, nevertheless, hold fate to be superior to him." Thus likewise he speaks concerning predestination: "Satan introduced the doctrine of predestination into the world. He always attacketh the liberty, which is accorded by God to man, and persuadeth him, that evil belongeth to his nature." After bringing forward the conversion

Hom. in
1 Tim. II.

Hom. in
Matt. LXII.

¹ The *είμαρμενη*.

of the Apostle Paul to prove that a natural necessity compelling man to evil does not exist, and being always pleased to illustrate practical truths by living examples, he added: "What then will become of those, who advance the doctrine of predestination against that of free will. Let them listen to the conversion of Paul, and be silent. For nothing hindereth the man, who desireth to become good, from becoming so, though he may have been before among the number of the most wicked." And in condemnation of those, who after having allowed themselves to be led away by the violence of their lusts, pleaded the power of the evil spirits, as an excuse, he says: "The foolish ascribe their sins to the evil spirits and the evil hours.¹ But evil hours are not the cause; for there are no such things as evil hours. Nor do they come from evil spirits, but from their permitting themselves to be taken captive by their own iniquity. For it is this, which attracteth the evil spirits, and bringeth upon them innumerable misfortunes." Again: "I beseech you, never to accuse Satan, but rather your own negligence. I say not this from a desire to acquit him of the charge. God forbid! 'For he walketh about as a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.' But wishing to render ourselves more secure, that we may not think ourselves blameless, when we so inconsiderately rush into evil; and that we may not coldly demand: Wherefore hath God granted so much liberty to the Evil One, to overthrow and lay low mankind? which words would manifest the greatest ingratitude. Consider, that God hath especially given to him this liberty, that we being compelled by fear, and awaiting the attack

Hom. in
1 Cor. XXII.

Hom. in
Joan. IV.

Hom. in
Genes. III.

1 Pet. V. 8.

¹ ὥρα κακή, hora infausta.

of an enemy, may manifest constant watchfulness and soberness.”

While Chrysostom combatted the moral indolence of his cotemporaries, and so frequently impressed upon the minds of his hearers, that nothing can assist man without his own will, he kept at a distance from the by-path, into which many honest enthusiasts for moral exertion¹ strayed, both in these and following times; for he neither ascribed to human nature a self-sufficiency, which belongeth to no created being, much less to the corrupted nature of man; nor did he lead men to a haughty confidence in themselves, instead of guiding them to the one physician of the sick soul,—to the one source, from which all created spirits alone can draw their strength. While he called the attention of men to the self-determining power of their will, he, on the other hand, in no wise placed the doctrine of grace in the back ground, but always warned them against a compulsory influence leading either to indolence and security, or to moral despair. “God,” he says, “draweth us not unto him by necessity and force, but through our own will and determination. If ye close not your doors to this light, ye shall have rich enjoyment of it.”² Again: “Let us hasten and press onwards, that we may obtain the kingdom, and gain the path, which leadeth unto holiness, so that, enjoying aid from above, we may be able to attain unto the end. For it is impossible, that we can do any good thing of ourselves, without being assisted by divine aid. Let us then attach ourselves to the hope, which

Hom. in
Joan. V.

Hom. in
Gen. XXV.

¹ For example, Pelagius.

² οὐ γὰρ ἀνάγκη καὶ βία, ἀλλὰ βουλήσει καὶ γνώμῃ προσάγεται ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός. Μὴδε τὰς θυράς ἀποκλείσῃς τῷ φωτὶ τούτῳ καὶ πολλῆς ἀπολαύσῃ τῆς τρυφῆς.

is in God, as to a safe and strong anchor, and let us not regard the labor of holiness, but, looking to the reward, which succeedeth, let us bear all afflictions lightly." And again: "We must be willing, and hasten, not trusting, however, in our own exertions, but in the grace of God." When he explained the history of Peter's denial of Christ to his congregation, he added, that that history had been recorded in order to teach man, "how great an evil it is to trust in himself, and not commit everything to God."¹ He reminded his hearers of their moral deficiencies, in order to bring them to a knowledge of their helplessness, and to warn them against feeling too secure,—and he made use of the doctrine of divine grace to raise the humbled sinner, and preserve him from despair. Let us hear his own word concerning these and similar practical truths: "We must build upon Christ, and hold fast to him as to the foundation of the whole building. We must hold fast to him, as the branch to the vine. Nought must stand in the midst between us and Christ. If aught stand between us, we are lost; for the branch is ever imbibing the sap, and the building standeth fast by its close union with the foundation. If that union cease, the building falleth to ruins, having nothing upon which it can rest. Let us then not only hold fast to Christ, but let us be most closely united with him. He sheweth us by many figures the close union which ought to subsist between himself and us. He is the head, we are the body. Ought then anything to lie in the midst between the head and the body? He is the foundation, we are the building; he is the vine, we are the

Hom. ad
Rom. XVI.

Hom. in
Joan.
LXXXIII.

¹ Ποσον κακον το μη θεω το παν επιτραπειν, αλλ εαυτω θαρρειν.

branches ; he is the shepherd, we are the sheep ; he is the way, we are the wayfarers ; he is the temple, we are the dwellers therein ; he is the life, we are the living ; he is the light, we are the enlightened. All this sheweth the closest union, and permitteth not of the least void between us. He, who withdraweth a little, will withdraw still further. If the branch be ever so little separated from the root, it instantly withereth. A little therefore here is not a little, but constituteth nearly the whole. If we only become a little negligent, or run into a slight sin, we must not overlook it, as trivial ; for a neglect of that which is little soon begetteth something great.

But should we even fall into the depth of sin, yet let us not despair, however deep we may be sunken, that we may not be utterly brought to confusion. It is God, who aideth us. If we commit ourselves to him, we shall not only regain the height from which we have fallen, but we shall ascend still higher. God willeth not the death of a sinner, but that he be converted. Let no one despair. Let no one be like to the ungodly, who care not, if they fall into the abyss of sin. It is not then the number of our sins, but ungodliness, which worketh despair. Though thou should be sunken in the worst of crimes, say unto thyself : God loveth man, and desireth our salvation. ‘The Lord saith : though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow.’ To be fallen is not so grievous, as to be fallen, and to remain prostrate ; to be sick is not so grievous, as not to desire to become whole ; for who can boast, that he hath a heart sanctified and pure from sin ? ”

Isaiah I. 18.

Thus did Chrysostom variously apply the simple truths of divine doctrine according to the

variety of human dispositions, and thereby discovered himself in all points the wise administrator of the secrets of the kingdom of God. He did not allow himself to be carried away, if we may so say, by the ruling feelings of his own breast, without regard to the wants of the various characters of his hearers, with which he was well acquainted. Among these were many who gave themselves up to their lusts, which they were wont to palliate, as human weaknesses; who stilled their consciences by an appeal to the mercy of God towards weak men;¹ and who held the passages of Scripture concerning hell and eternal punishment to be mere threats to deter men from evil, or who consoled themselves with the hope, that these punishments were ordained for unbelievers, not for baptized persons or for believers, as they in their false views of the nature of faith, deemed themselves entitled to be called. Chrysostom was therefore often compelled to refute the deceitful reasonings of such persons, and to rouse them from their blind security by a representation of the divine justice, and of the conse-

¹ Chrysostom says, Hom. in Joan. XXVIII: "Many negligent persons, who make use of the mercy of God, as a security against the greatness of their sins, say: There is no hell. There is no punishment. God pardoneth all sins." He also introduces the phrases of such men in a discourse held at Constantinople, Hom. ad I Thess. VIII: "God loveth man, and nothing of all this will happen; it is merely written as a threatening for men, in order to preserve them in a godly life." There appears to have been many such persons in the great cities, who doubted or denied a last judgment, and the existence of hell, or at least of eternal punishment; and they did so, not from any real study of the Bible or serious reflection, but from thoughtlessness, because they neither desired nor indeed could form a right idea of the holiness and justice of God, and because it was most convenient to them to live on in their lusts.

quent punishment of sin, which they were so desirous to explain away in order to tranquillize their accusing consciences; for it was first necessary to prepare them by the discipline of the law for the consolations of divine grace, and the emotions of divine love. He desired, however, in no wise, to retain Christians in a slavish dread of the law, or hope of reward, but it was always his highest object to lead them to that free and cheerful love of the children of God, which casts off fear, bears afflictions lightly, and brings with it its own reward.

Let us hear his own words, by which he sought to raise the heart to this child-like love: “Were any one to set before us a thousand hells, they would not be so dreadful, as to fall from that blessed glory, to be hated by Christ, to hear from him: ‘I know you not,’ to be accused of seeing him an hungred, and of giving him no meat. For it were better to be overwhelmed by a thousand thunder-bolts, than to behold that meek countenance averted from us, his placid eye not bearing to look upon us.” And in another discourse he says:¹ “Nor let us deem punishment grievous, but rather sin. For if God himself did not punish us, we ought to punish ourselves, being thus ungrateful to so great a benefactor. I say that, which is strange and incredible to many. But the man who is punished, after he hath offended him, who is so

Hom. in
Matt.
XXIII.

Matt. XXV.
12.

Hom. in
II Cor. XX.

¹ So likewise in a discourse held at Constantinople, Hom. ad II Thess. II: “The truly godly man is not moved to good by fear, or the hope of future blessedness, but by the love of Christ himself.” *Ὁ σφοδρὰ ἐναρετός οὔτε ἀπο φόβου, οὔτε ἀπο βασιλείας ἐναγεται, ἀλλὰ δι’ αὐτὸν τὸν Χριστὸν.* Again, Hom. ad I Tim. XV: “Let us have a right desire after God: let us not be urged on from a fear of hell, but from a desire after the kingdom; for what is like unto the attaining to the beholding of Christ?”

full of love, will, if he have a sound mind, and love his Lord as he ought to do, be more comforted than he who remaineth unpunished. This may be perceived in ordinary life ; for he who hath wronged those dearest to him, findeth the greatest rest when he demandeth retribution of himself, and endureth mortification. Thus said David : ‘ Lo, I, the shepherd, have sinned, and I have done wickedly : but these sheep what have they done ? Let thy hand be against me, and against my father’s house.’ And after the death of Absalom, he called down upon himself the heaviest judgment, although he had committed no evil, but had himself been wronged. Yet because he loved so much the departed, he consumed himself with grief, finding therein consolation. Yea, if we loved Christ as we ought to love him, we ourselves should punish our own sins. Let us not then dread hell, but rather let us fear to offend God ; for the latter is far more dreadful than the former, when in his wrath he turneth away from us. And that ye may know how great this evil is, listen to my words. Were a king to behold a robber or criminal led to execution, and to give his only-begotten son to be slain, that by his death he might take away the guilt of the accused, that he might rescue him from punishment, and free him from his reproach ; were he afterwards to raise him to great power, and having thus saved and conferred high honor upon him, were he to be reviled by him, who had received such great benefits at his hand, would not the malefactor, if he had any righteous feeling within him, prefer to die a thousand deaths, than to be guilty of such ingratitude ? ” Having taken up this truly Christian position, he reproved those of little faith, who sought a

II Sam.
XXIV. 17.

Hom. I Cor.
XXIII.

reward, whose views did not extend beyond the present life, and who were consequently disquieted by the temporal sufferings of the good, and the apparent prosperity of the wicked. He says: ¹ “If we ought to lead godly lives, not for the sake of a future reward, but in order to please God, which is greater than any reward, of what worth then is that man, who, because he receiveth not his reward here below, becometh remiss in godliness? We must not, therefore, disquiet ourselves, if we see one, who gave frequent repasts to the widows and to the poor, lose his house by a conflagration, or be smitten by any other misfortune. It argueth a vile state of mind, to be looking around for earthly things, when the things of heaven lie before us. Let us not be thus minded, but let us hold fast to that, which is the will of God, whatsoever unexpected event may come upon us.” The idea of a pure disinterested love of

¹ He alludes particularly to this subject, Hom. ad Pop. Antioch. I. “If thou see,” he says, “a good man, who leadeth a life well pleasing to God, and still must endure many sufferings; or if thou see one, who hath undertaken a pious work, and is at the same time smitten by some misfortune, be not therefore disquieted, for I know many, who are greatly grieved at such things. There is such-a-one, they say, who journied to the church of some martyr, in order to carry thither money for the poor,—he hath suffered shipwreck, and lost all. Another hath been attacked by robbers on the way, and hath scarcely escaped with his life.” The preacher was the more called upon to take notice of this unchristian view of worldly concerns, because there were many, who, as Augustine says, de catechiz. rudib. § 26: “feared God, mocked not at Christianity, and went not to church with feelings of hypocrisy, but (carrying their former heathen ideas over with them into Christianity) expected happiness in this life, who hoped to become more fortunate, than the heathen in worldly affairs, who, if they beheld some, who were abandoned and profane, especially distinguished by the fortunes of this world, were troubled, as if they were Christians without any reason, and who therefore easily fell from the faith.”

God, totally devoid of selfishness, was one of the chief features of the Antiochian school, and particularly of Chrysostom, who constantly cited passages from the Epistles of St. Paul in its support.¹

Chrysostom had especially to combat superstition, which assuming only the outward garb of religion, made use of it as a cloak for immorality. But infidelity never fails to shoot up by the side of superstition, for both proceed from the same source, the want of a living faith, sanctifying the inward man, founded upon self-denial, and always accompanied thereby. Both spring from the same root, human nature estranged from God,—totally sunken in earthly things,—which, when it is moved by some vague impulse to a consideration of the things of heaven, either seeks to make them its own in a sensual manner, and lower them to a level with itself, or totally rejects them, because it finds in itself nought that is kindred, because it cannot comprehend them by reason of its sensuality, and by entering the paths of holiness would be disturbed in its carnal appetites. Thus there was in Antioch a class of wanton persons, who gave themselves up to their sinful passions, with open infidelity or a dull indifference towards all the higher concerns of the soul, and who rejected every exhortation to their conversion by the maxim, that it was best for men, instead of thinking upon an uncertain future, to keep to the certain enjoyment of the

¹ It was the idea of such a love, which had cast off all selfishness, which did not so much as reflect upon its own salvation, of which there was question in the dispute between Fenelon and Bossuet, a dispute, which, viewing the many documents lately made known to us, had well deserved a special treatise to elucidate it with clearness and acuteness.

Hom. in
II Cor. IX.

present. The following were the words, which these contemptible men commonly had in their mouths, when they were reminded of a life beyond the grave: "Give me to-day, and take to-morrow for thyself. If there be such a future state as ye say, it is but one thing in exchange for another. But if there be nothing after death, we should, if we followed your counsel, base our interest, both in the present and future life, upon nothing."¹

Hom. in
Lazar. I.

Chrysostom, who worked with so much charity for the salvation of men, who sought to save the most reprobate, and to prevent the dissemination of these iniquitous principles among the voluptuaries of the great cities, forcibly censured them in his discourses, and forbade even the repetition of such phrases, as being incompatible with the seriousness of Christians. Thus he says: "Do not the multitude carry about such phrases with them in the market places, and from the Circus and theatres of the heathen, introduce them into the Church? Many utter them with a laugh; but it is the work of the Devil, under the name of witty speeches,² to spread corrupt principles in society. Many bear about with them constantly these words in the shops, in the market place, and in their dwellings, thereby manifesting extreme infidelity, madness, foolish and childish minds; for the saying, that if the wicked should be punished when they die,—and that they had not a firm belief that they would be punished,—can only proceed from unbelievers and cavillers. But to suppose, in the event of their being punished,—as they surely will be,—that they have already

¹ δος μοι την σημερον και λαβε την αυριον, εν ανθ' ενος γεγονεν, αν δε μηδεν ολωσ η, δυο αντ' ουδενος.

² ρηματων αστειων.

enjoyed a reward equal to that of the just, is the extreme of insanity. Suppose, that the wicked enjoy their riches here on earth during a thousand years,—a thing impossible,—for the Psalmist saith : ‘ the days of our age are three-score years and ten ;’ but let us suppose it. Yet surely there can be no life here without an end, and knowing no bounds, as is the life of the just in heaven. Say, were any one during the period of a hundred years for one night to have a pleasing dream, were he for once in sleep to enjoy delightful visions, but to spend the remainder of the hundred years in punishment, could such a one affirm, that it is but one thing in exchange for another, and that the one night of the dream equalled the remainder of the hundred years ? So must ye regard the life to come ; for what a dream is to a hundred years, is the present life, when compared to the future. Yea, even much less ;—what a small drop of water is to the ocean, a thousand years are when compared to the glory and blessedness of futurity. For what greater thing can we imagine, than that which hath no end, and knoweth no limits. *As a dream differeth from reality, so doth our present from our future state.*

Ps. XC. 10.

“ But many who live in sin are punished here before their punishment hereafter. For tell me not of him, who enjoyeth a table spread with costly food, who is clothed in silk, who leadeth about with him troops of slaves, and causeth others to give way before him in the market places,—but unfold his conscience to me, and ye shall behold therein a tumult of sins, a perpetual fear, a tempest, a confusion,—reason mounting, as it were, in judgment, upon the royal throne of conscience, and sitting as a judge, moving thoughts, as executioners, cruci-

fyng the soul, torturing it for its sins, and crying out with a mighty voice, while no one knoweth it but God, who alone is able to perceive these things. Though the adulterer be ever so rich, though he have no accuser, yet he ceaseth not inwardly to accuse himself. His pleasure is but for a time, his grief for ever,—on all sides fear and trembling, suspicion and anguish. He dreadeth to enter the narrow ways; trembleth at the very shadows, at the sight of his own menials, of those who know his guilt, as well as of those, who know it not, at the sight of her, whom he hath defiled, of him, whom he hath wronged. He walketh to and fro, bearing about with him his conscience, as a bitter accuser, and by himself condemned, he cannot rest even for a moment. In his bed, at table, in the market place, in his house, by day and by night, and oftentimes in dreams, he seeth these spectres of his guilt, and he liveth the life of Cain, groaning and quivering, while no one knoweth, that he hath this fire always heaped up within him. Thus is it likewise with the robber and covetous man, thus with the drunkard; in short, with all, who are living in sin. *For this tribunal cannot be bribed.*” And again: “What excuse will those have to offer, who, having been deemed worthy of receiving the Holy Spirit, and having enjoyed so many gifts, demean themselves thus, and grovel as it were in the earth; for I hear many utter these blasphemies, which they bring among us from the Circus. That the Gentiles should say such things is not surprising, but that believers should speak thus foolishly, is inconceivable. Do ye altogether doubt our hopes of immortality,—deem them altogether uncertain? Ye ask, who hath come and reported to us concerning the things there? No

Hom. in
II Cor. IX.

man. But God, the most worthy of belief, hath revealed them. Ye do not see the things there, neither do ye see God.¹ What then? Do ye not believe, that God existeth, because ye cannot see him? Yea verily, ye say, we believe in him. Should then an unbeliever inquire of you, if any one have come from heaven and told these things, what will ye say? Ask of him, whence he knoweth, that there is a God? He will then reply: from the things which are seen, from the order which pervadeth the whole creation, and from his existence being manifest to all. Do ye then use the same argument concerning a future judgment." Chrysostom then proceeds to show, that a belief in the justice of God leads to a belief in future rewards and punishments.

Not satisfied with combatting generally the unchristian views which prevailed, Chrysostom pursued them into the several relations of life, and contrasted them with the true Christian way of thinking and acting. We will adduce some examples of this. He often adverted to the neglect of education, the careless and extreme indulgence of fathers, their indifference concerning the religious and moral discipline of their children, as to the main sources of moral corruption in this age. Thus he says: "Most of our youth, hurried on by fierce passions, run unbridled and wildly about, zealous for no good. This is the fault of their fathers. They compel their trainers to break their horses with the ut-

Hom. in
Matt. LIX.

¹ An answer quite to the point, for if we were to allow only of the eye of sense, all religious truths would fall to the ground, even the belief in a personal God. But if we firmly maintain this, we shall be naturally led to receive the doctrine of a personal continuance of the human soul, and a moral system of the world enduring beyond the grave.

most care ; they let not their colts remain long untamed, and put bridles and other restraints upon them almost as soon as they are born ; but they permit their sons to roam about until after the age of manhood, being without discretion, and heaping infamy upon themselves by fornication, by dice, and frequenting the baneful theatres. Instead of allowing them to commit fornication, they should entrust them to chaste and prudent wives, who would keep their husbands from such evil ways, and be to them what bridles are to colts. From no other source do fornications and adulteries arise, but from the licence of the youth ; and if the young man have a prudent wife, she will take care of his household, and his good name. Ye excuse him, because he is young. I know that he is young. But Isaac took unto him a wife, when he was forty years old, and had passed all his years until then in virginity ; much more then ought those, who are in a state of grace to exercise such wisdom. Ye do nought to keep them chaste, but calmly look on, until they are disgraced, covered with stains, and accursed, not knowing that the gain of marriage is to keep the body pure ; for if not, marriage were of no use. But ye act quite otherwise. Ye give them wives uselessly, and without reason, when they are defiled by stains innumerable. Ye say, we must wait until he become distinguished, and excel in the affairs of government. Ye have no care for his soul, and behold it with indifference cast away. Wherefore all things are filled with confusion and tumult, because the soul is neglected, the things necessary are unheeded, and upon those, which are of no value, much care is expended. Are ye ignorant, that nought profiteth your sons so much, as the keeping them

free from fornication ; for nothing is so precious as the soul. ‘ For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul ? ’ But the love of money hath turned all things upside down, hath driven away a conscientious fear of God, and as some tyrant seizeth on an Acropolis, so doth it cast down and take possession of the soul of man. Therefore do we neglect both the salvation of our children and our own, and looking only to one thing, how we may become more wealthy, we leave our riches to others, they again to their descendants, and those after them again to others, the transmitters of our property, but not the possessors of it. Hence the great folly ! Hence the free are less esteemed, than bondsmen. For we chastise our slaves, if not for their sake, at least for our own. But the free partake not of such care ; they are held by us to be of less value than our slaves. But why do I speak of slaves ? We value our children less than our very cattle ; we are more careful for our asses and horses, than for our children. If any one have a mule, he taketh the greatest care to find for it the best muleteer, one who is gentle, who neither steal-eth nor getteth drunk, and who is not unskilled in his art. But if it be required to appoint an instructor to the soul of your child, ye take the first who cometh, although no art is so difficult, as that of the teacher. For what can be like unto the tempering of the soul, and forming the youthful mind ? He, who is able to do this, must manifest more diligence than any painter or statuary. But we take no account of his soul, and only look to improve his language. And of this last we are only careful for the sake of money ; for we instruct him therein, not to render him eloquent, but that he may become

Mat. XXVI.
26.

rich ; and if without this talent, he could become rich, we should not regard it.”¹ Knowing the blessed effects of the Holy Scriptures from his own experience, he particularly recommended, that the youthful mind should be formed by them, and thereby rendered proof against the influence of heathen literature : “ Think it not superfluous, that thy son should be instructed in the Scriptures. There he will first hear : ‘ Honor thy father and thy mother.’ Wherefore it will be to thine own advantage. Say not, that this is only fitting for the monks. I require not of you to make him a monk, but a Christian. Those, who mingle with the world, and especially young men, need most a knowledge of the Scriptures ; for great is the power

Hom. ad
Ephes.XXI.

¹ Libanius, the cotemporary of Chrysostom, makes similar complaints, although he had not such deeply penetrating views relative to the improvement of the system of education, since he regarded the acquirement of rhetoric, and the moral obligations of a citizen, as the highest objects of attainment, and had no conception of the true sanctification of man. He says, *προς τους εις την παιδειαν αυτον αποσκωψαντας*. Tom. III. f. 442, 443 : “ I come to that, which is of all things, the most injurious,—fathers no longer threaten their sons ; if they cannot praise them, they dare not to blame them. They have ceded their places to their sons, and they themselves have taken their places. The sons look wrathful, and the fathers tremble. Since then the youth hath attained to such great power, they either sleep or riot in debauchery. Yea, many a father hath commended his son, for his giving himself up to licentiousness, or admired him, because he created a disturbance in the schools. Concerning such things, for which they ought in every way to punish their sons, they say : his conduct will hereafter give him weight with the men.” We must take into consideration, that men of low origin without talents or learning, could attain to high offices through the mechanical art of writing, or through a slight knowledge of the Latin used in the departments of government, or of the Roman law ; and it was of this state of things that Libanius so frequently complained, and which he regarded as the chief cause of the decline of liberal education.

of evil passions in youth ; and this power is added unto by the reading of the heathen writings, wherein they learn of the wonderful heroes, who were the slaves of their passions, yea, slaves unto the death : such as was Achilles, who refused to appear in the field of battle, and was ready to die, for a concubine ; Alexander, who was a drunkard, and many more like unto these. The youth have therefore need of medicine to expel such poison. Is it not absurd to send our children to learn arts, or to schools, and to make every exertion thereto, and not to bring them up in the discipline and admonition of the Lord ? Let us give our children examples, from their tenderest years, causing them to occupy themselves in reading the Holy Scriptures. Alas ! I am deemed a fool, because I say these things so repeatedly. But I will not cease to do my duty. Wherefore, tell me, do ye not imitate the holy men of old ? And, ye women especially, wherefore do ye not emulate the holy matrons of old times ? If ye have sons, follow the example of Hannah. Learn what she did. She straightwise led him into the temple. Which of you would not a thousand times rather desire your son to be a Samuel, than lord of the whole Roman empire ? How were it possible, ye say, that he should become a Samuel ? Wherefore not ? Because ye are not willing, and entrust him not to those, who are able to make him such. Do ye ask, who it is, who can make him like unto Samuel ? It is God. To Him Hannah entrusted her son, for Heli was not well fitted to instruct him, not being so much as able to bring up his own sons. The faith and earnest zeal of the mother effected all. Samuel was her first-born and only son ; she knew not, if she should have other sons, yet she

said not : I will wait until the infant grow up, that he may gain a knowledge of the things of this life ; I will let him awhile taste the joys of childhood. But disregarding all these things, she looked to one thing alone, how from the very first she might consecrate his soul a spiritual likeness unto God. If ye teach your children to be Christians from the first dawn of reason, they acquire thereby greater treasure, and glory more resplendent, than any riches. Ye effect not so much by teaching them an heathen art, or by giving them a heathen education, by which to obtain wealth, as ye do by teaching them the way, by which they may despise wealth. If ye desire to make them rich, act thus ; for he is not rich, who needeth many riches, or is surrounded by them, but he who needeth them not. In this knowledge instruct and bring up your children ; it is the greatest of treasures. Seek not to render them illustrious or famed for their knowledge of heathen learning, but take care to teach them, how to disregard the vanities of this present life. I hear Paul saying : ‘ Bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.’ Seek not then to render them orators, but instruct them in Christian wisdom. If they be deficient in eloquence, it mattereth not ; but if Christian wisdom be wanting, the greatest eloquence will profit nothing. Every thing cometh of holiness, not of eloquence ; of humility of life, not force of oratory ; of works, not words. These will gain for them the kingdom, and all things, which are really good. Exercise not their tongues, but purify their souls. I say not this to prevent your giving them a learned education, but to prevent your expending your care solely thereupon. Think not that

the monk alone needeth a knowledge of the Scriptures; for the young, who are destined to live in the world, have a most urgent need thereof. As he, who always keepeth within the haven, needeth neither the art of navigation, nor a steersman, nor his complement of shipmen, as doth he who is always at sea: so is it with the monk and the layman. The one leadeth a life within the port, undisturbed by the waves, far from the tumult of life, and sheltered from every storm. The other is always on the deep, tossed about in the midst of the ocean, and striving with the vast billows; and if he be not himself in danger, still must he be prepared to bring others to silence by a knowledge of the Scriptures. The more considered he is in the world, the more need hath he of this knowledge; for should he be appointed to an office at the Imperial Court, he will find there many Gentiles and Heathen Philosophers¹ puffed up with the pride of life, and those who are not, strive to become so. Consider then, how great a gain, that thy son should appear, as the best physician, provided with the medicines which are able to heal every disease, that he should reason with all, and pouring forth the words of holy wisdom, make the sick body whole. With whom reasoneth the monk? With his walls and his roof? With the wilderness and the forest, with the birds and the trees? He hath not so great need of this knowledge, yet he striveth to obtain it, not to instruct others but to instruct himself. Therefore those who have intercourse with the world, need such

¹ The example of a Libanius, Themistius, Troilus, or Synesius, shows the respect, which was to be attained by literary and philosophical acquirements, the more so as they were seldom to be met with.

instruction most; for they have to encounter greater temptations than hath the monk. But, if ye would be convinced of it, your child, thus instructed, will be better fitted even for a worldly life. For all will revere him on account of his holy discourse, seeing him pass through the fire of temptation unhurt, and undesirous of rule. Then shall he obtain power, when he striveth not after it, and shall be the more esteemed by the Emperor. Such a one cannot remain hid; for among many, who are whole, one in particular will not be discerned; but if among many sick, there be one whole, his fame will swiftly reach the ears of the Emperor, and he will set him over many provinces." Again: "Your children now learn Satanic songs and dances, like unto the cooks, purveyors, and those who lead the Choruses. None of them learn a Psalm, which seemeth to them something disgraceful, ridiculous, and laughable. Hence are all evils nurtured. For according to the soil, in which the plant groweth, so is the fruit. If the soil be sandy and salt, it bringeth forth bad fruit. If it be sweet and rich, it bringeth forth good fruit. The doctrines of the Bible are, as a fountain, which watereth the soul. Teach your children to sing those Psalms,—so full of wisdom,—which treat concerning purity of life, and above all others, that one in the beginning of the book, which admonisheth us to avoid a communion with the ungodly. These and many other things ye will find therein, concerning abstemiousness, covetousness, dishonesty, and the nothingness of riches and glory. When ye shall have instructed them in these things from their childhood, ye may by degrees lead them to things higher. The Psalms treat of man; the Hymns, on the other hand, treat only of God.

Hom. ad.
Coloss. IX.

When they have learnt the Psalms, they may proceed to the Hymns, as to something holier ; for the superior powers sing not Psalms, but Hymns.”¹

He thus admonisheth those, who maintained that religious instruction was not fit for childhood, and who permitted children to visit the schools of the sophists and the theatres, but not the church: “ Youth of every age most needeth religious instruction. Being tender, it readily imbibeth the things, which it heareth, and which are impressed upon its minds, as is a seal upon wax. At this period life first taketh either a good or a bad direction. If then any one restrain children from evil at the very outset of their lives, and guide them into the paths of godliness, that which is good will become an indwelling and natural habit, and they will not readily turn to evil, custom constraining them unto good works.”

Hom. in
Joan. III.

We observed in the early part of this volume, that the practical influence of Christianity manifested itself particularly among the female sex at this period, and that pious wives frequently effected much good in domestic life. Chrysostom perceived in the higher importance which was thus imparted to women, the opera-

¹ The Psalms belonged to that portion of the Divine Service, at which the Catechumens were permitted to be present, and which was called the *missa catechumenorum*. The Hymns, as the Tris Agion, and the Song of the Three Men in the fiery furnace, belonged to that portion which was called the *missa fidelium*, which was joined to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and which the baptized were only permitted to attend. The following extract from Chrysostom serves to explain the above passage. In Oziam. I: “ God is glorified above by the hosts of angels, the choirs of men imitate their song of praise in the churches here below. Above the Seraphim sing the Three Times Holy ; the congregations of men resound the same on earth,”

Hom. ad.
Ephes. XIII.

tion of Christianity. Thus he saith: " Let us be ashamed, that though we excel the women in the concerns of this life, in wars, and in trials of strength, yet that they are superior to us in spiritual contests, they carry off the highest prizes, and soar aloft, as the very eagles. In the old times there were godly women, as Sarah, Rebecca, Rachael, Deborah, and Hannah; and in the days of Christ there were also such, but they never surpassed the men, and held a station inferior to them. But now, on the contrary, the women go beyond and eclipse us. Behold the power of Christ's appearance upon earth! He hath loosed women from the curse; and they surpass us in seriousness, fervor, piety, and the love of Christ." In many passages of his discourses, he calls upon the women to promote Christianity in domestic life. He says: " The man who passeth his time in the market places and tribunals, is tossed to and fro by the traffic of the world, as it were by the waves. But the woman, who sitteth at home, as in some school of wisdom, may always collect her thoughts, and engage in prayer, reading, and all other pious exercises. And as those, who dwell in the wilderness, are molested by no one, so she, being always within her house, enjoyeth a perpetual peace. And should she be obliged to go forth, she hath no cause to be disquieted; for the woman needeth only to go to the church and to the baths. For the most part she sitteth within, can meditate, can receive her husband, compose and order his mind, drive away his useless and troublesome thoughts, and thus send him forth again into the world, cleansed of all the evil which he had brought with him from the forum, and departing with the good, which he hath learnt in the bosom of his family.

Hom. in
Joan. LXI.

For nothing is so able to form the man, as a pious and prudent woman, and to mould his mind, as she pleaseth. Neither friends nor teachers, nor princes, can have so great a power as the counsel of the wife; for in her counsel is delight, being herself so much beloved. And I could name to you many hardened and wild men, who have thus been softened. She is the sharer of his table, and his bed, the mother of his children, the keeper of his sayings and his secrets, of his goings out and his comings in, in all things devoted to him, and united with him, as the head should be with the body. And if she be prudent and diligent, she will exert herself far more than any other, to cherish and take care of him."

He likewise taught men to take a Christian view of those relations between master and slave, to which the growing Spirit of Christianity was ultimately to put an end; and he called the attention of the former to the duties which they owed to the latter. "Think not," he said, "that God will forgive you an injury done to a slave, because he is a slave. The laws of this world draw distinctions between men, because they are made by men; but the law of our common Lord knoweth no such distinction, and dispenseth the same blessings equally to all. But if any one ask, whence came slavery into the world?—for I have known many, who have desired to learn this,—I will tell him. Insatiable avarice and envy are the parents of slavery; for Noah, Abel, Seth, and their descendants had no slaves. Sin hath begotten slavery, —then wars and battles, in which men were made captives. But ye say, that Abram had slaves. Yea, but he treated them not as such." Again: "Nobility consisteth not in splendor

Hom. ad
Ephes.
XXII.

Hom. in
Lazar. VI.

of ancestry, but in the virtue of the mind. I call the slave high-born, and Lord, though he be bound with chains, if I know his soul to be noble; and I deem the man who is invested with dignity, ignoble, if he have a slavish mind. For who is a slave but the sinner? All other bondage cometh of outward things, this alone cometh of an inward difference of mind, whence bondage first took its rise. There was no slave in the old times; for God, when he formed man, made him not bond, but free." He then derives the origin of slavery from the sin of Ham against his father Noah, and the curse which was pronounced by the father upon him, and continues: "Behold, slavery came of sin. Would ye, that I show you, how freedom may be obtained in bondage?" He then introduces the instance of Onesimus, who was converted by Paul, and adds: "Bondman and freeman are but names. How many Lords lie drunken upon their couches, while their slaves stand sober by? Whom shall I then call slave? the slave of man, or the captive of his own passions? The one is a slave by the force of external circumstances, the other beareth his captivity about with him." And again: "Slavery is the punishment of sin, and arose from disobedience. But when Christ appeared, he removed this curse; for 'in Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free.'" He not only spoke against the cruel treatment of slaves, but he called particular attention to their religious education: "Let us be mindful of our servants, so that they may be honest and diligent; and let them be taught the things relating to God. Godliness will not be difficult to them, after that ye have once instructed them therein. For as a general, when his soldiers are well exercised, easily

Hom. in
I Cor. XL.

Gal. III. 28.

Hom. in
Act. Apost.
XLV.

carryeth on war; or as the steersman easily manageth the helm, when all the sailors act together; so likewise here, if your servants be well brought up, ye will not be lightly moved to anger or revilings. It may be, that ye will revere them, if they be worthy, and they may even assist you, and advise you to good things. Hence the concerns of your house shall be well pleasing to God, and your whole family shall be filled with his blessings." Again: "It is usual to say, that slaves are a shameless race, difficult to be governed or led, and not fit to be instructed in godliness. It is not their nature, which rendereth them such, God forbid! but the negligence of their masters, who care for nothing but that themselves should be well served; or should they ever attend to the morals of their slaves only do so for their own advantage, that less trouble may be thereby occasioned them; not really caring whether they be given up to fornication, theft, or drunkenness. How can slaves then be otherwise, since they have no one who careth for them; since they associate with wicked men from their youth, and receive instruction neither in learning nor in religion." He then proceeds to point out, how strikingly the ennobling power of Christianity may manifest itself in the lives of slaves. Nought exercises a stronger or surer influence, than gentleness, meekness, and obedience. Godliness overcomes everything.

Chrysostom likewise here and there already intimates, that if a pure Christian feeling were prevalent, slavery would cease. When rebuking the rich and the nobles who sought to make a display by keeping a number of slaves, and who appeared surrounded by a swarm of them in the market-places, theatres, and baths,

Hom. ad
Tit. IV.

Hom. in
I Cor. XL.

Acts IV.
34, 45.

Hom. in
Act. Apost.
XI.

which at times gave them the appearance of supporting so many slaves from philanthropy; he said: "If ye cared for these men, ye *would buy them; let them learn trades, that they might support themselves; and then give them freedom.*"

In another place, while representing the communion of possessions of the first apostolical congregation at Jerusalem, as an example for the Christians at Antioch, and supposing the case of their following it, he said: "How much gold would be collected together, if every one sold his lands, possessions, and houses, and brought the prices of them hither,—*I speak not of the sale of slaves, for that did not exist in those times, though perhaps their master's were pleased to set them free.*"¹ Thus did his Christian spirit revolt as well against a traffic in human flesh, as against slavery.

In this manner had Chrysostom worked for twelve years by the free preaching of Evangelical doctrine. By attacking the prevalent vices of all classes, he had indeed rendered many his enemies,² who were struck by the voice of truth; but all those, who were not totally hardened against religious impressions, adhered to him with the inmost affection. The love of the

¹ εἰ πάντες καὶ πᾶσαι αὐτῶν ἐνταυθα ἐκενώσαν χρήματα, καὶ χωρία καὶ κτήματα καὶ οἰκίας ἀπέδοντο (ἀνδραποδα γὰρ οὐκ ἂν εἶποιμι, οὐδὲ γὰρ τότε ταῦτο ἦν, ἀλλ' ἐλευθεροῦς ἴσως ἐπετρέπον γενεσθαι.)

² After Chrysostom had, as he frequently did, rebuked the covetous, who sought to enrich themselves at the expense of others, and to draw advantage from public misfortune, he added, Hom. I Cor. IX: "I know, that many hate me for the words I have spoken, but I hate them not; I rather pity and deplore men, who are thus minded." They reproached him with always preaching about alms, and charity, instead of preaching on doctrine, Hom. in Matt. LXXXVIII. Savil. II. 542: Καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν περὶ ἐλεημοσύνης διαλεγγὴ καὶ φιλανθρωπίας ἡμῖν.

greatest part of his congregation, and the friendship of his Bishop, ensured him personal safety, and those who were dissatisfied with his zeal, which the fear of men could not restrain, had not the power to injure him. In the subordinate situation, which he held as Presbyter, he could not have come in nearer contact with the powerful either of the secular or ecclesiastical states, and he might thus have continued his blessed ministry peaceably to the end of his days. But a combattant for the kingdom of God, armed with such qualities as he was, was not destined to stand in the back ground, but was to be brought forward into the midst of the contest. The treasure, which the Holy Spirit had deposited in this enlightened soul, would not thus have manifested itself, had not providence called him to a more elevated and dangerous sphere.

It was chiefly by the influence of the all-powerful Eutropius at the Imperial Court, who, once passing on a journey through Antioch, was struck with astonishment at the eloquence of Chrysostom, that he was appointed to the highest post of the Eastern Church of Rome, to the office of bishop in the metropolis of the whole Eastern empire. Towards the end of the year, A.D. 397, every preparation being previously made, he was enticed out of the city of Antioch under a false pretext, in order to forestall his refusal, and prevent the disorders, which his congregation, who were so attached to him, might raise; and he was sent to Constantinople.

APPENDIX TO PERIOD II.

I.—AN EXPOSITION OF THE COMMON PRAYER FOR THE CATECHUMENS, BY CHRYSOSTOM.— Vid. p. 234.

Hom. in
II Cor. II.

THE Deacon first called upon the congregation to take a part in the prayer in the following words: *Let us earnestly pray for the Catechumens.*¹ This demand, Chrysostom says, is not only addressed to the Priests, but to the whole congregation. Then the Deacon continued: *that the all-merciful God may hear their prayer.*² Chrysostom here exclaims: Have ye heard, the all-merciful God? Cease any longer to doubt; for the God of all mercy hath compassion upon all, as well upon sinners, as upon those who love him.—*That he may open the ears of their hearts, so as to discern the things, which the eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have*
I Cor. II. 9. *entered into the heart of man.*³ Chrysostom here subjoins: for the Catechumens have not heard the holy mysteries, but they stand afar off; and if they had heard, they would not have understood them, for these things need not only

¹ Ὑπερ τῶν κατηχουμένων ἐκτενῶς δεηθῶμεν.

² Ἴνα ὁ πανελεημων καὶ οἰκτιρμων θεὸς ἐπακουσῆ τῶν δεησεῶν αὐτῶν.

³ Ἴνα διανοίξῃ τὰ ὦτα τῶν καρδιῶν αὐτῶν, ὥστε ἀκουσῆ αἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐκ εἶδε καὶ οὐς οὐκ ἤκουσε καὶ εἰς καρδίαν ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἀνεβῆ.

hearing, but likewise a right understanding ; and the Catechumens have not yet received inward ears. Wherefore we pray, that a gift of grace may be accorded them, similar to that of which the Prophet speaketh, saying : ‘ The Lord hath given me the tongue of the learned, that I should know how to speak a word in season to him that is weary : he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear, as the learned.’ For as the prophet discerned things differently from the multitude, so do believers from Catechumens. Hence also the Catechumen is taught, neither to hear, nor learn these things from men,—for Christ saith : ‘ call no man your father upon earth,’—but from heaven above ; for all ‘ are taught of God.’ Wherefore is added : *that he may teach them the word of truth.*¹ Whereby Chrysostom observes : This word then must be imparted to them by Himself.—*That he may sow his fear in them,*² *and establish faith in their minds :*³ i. e. that the seed fall not only upon the surface, but that it take deep root. *That he may reveal to them the Gospel of Righteousness,*⁴ i. e. that he may not only make their minds fit to receive the same, but that he may likewise strew the seed of it in them ; for though their minds were prepared for its reception, it would not profit them, if God did not reveal it, and if God reveal it, and men receive it not, the unprofitableness is equally the same. Wherefore we ask two things, that he may both open our hearts and reveal his gospel. If a royal tiar were to lie concealed under some covering, of what avail would it be,

Isaiah L. 4.

Matt.
XXIII. 9.Joh. VI. 45.
and Isaiah
LIV. 13.

¹ Και κατηχηση αυτους τον λογον της αληθειας.

² 'Ινα κατασπειρη τον φοβον αυτου εν αυτοις.

³ Και βεβαιωση την πιστιν αυτου εν ταις διανοιαις αυτων.

⁴ 'Ινα αποκαλυψη αυτοις το ευαγγελιον της δικαιοσυνης.

if the eyes saw; and if the tiar were exposed to view, it would be of no avail, if the eyes saw not. But what is the gospel of righteousness? That which justifieth. Thereby a desire for baptism is awakened, it being shewn, that it is a gospel not only for the remission of sins, but that it likewise bringeth justification.¹ *That he may give them a godly mind, pure thoughts, and a holy life.*² May those of the faithful, who cleave wholly to earthly things, hear these words; for if the uninitiated³ are commanded to ask for these things, consider of what mind should we be, who are called upon to ask it for them. Our lives ought to agree with the gospel, wherefore the prayer for the word passeth on unto a prayer for their lives; for after the words: that he may reveal to them the gospel of righteousness, followeth: that he may give them a godly mind. What is a godly mind? That God should dwell in them, as he saith: 'I will dwell in them, and walk in them.' For when the soul becometh righteous, when it hath cast off its sins, it becometh the habitation of God. But where God dwelleth, nothing human remaineth, and thus the soul becometh godly-minded, and godly in all its utterings, being the habitation of the indwelling God. And what is it to have pure thoughts? It is the having a soundness of soul.⁴ For he, who is ruled by evil

II Cor. VI.
16.

¹ This was a main point of the Antiochian dogmatick in the doctrine of redemption and baptism, not only to attach importance to the negative moment of being freed from sin and guilt, but to give still greater weight to the positive one, to the new creation, to the imparting of a new godly life.

² Ἴνα αὐτοῖς δαιή νουν ἐνθεον, σωφρονα λογισμον, και ἐναρετον πολιτειαν.

³ The ἀμνητοὶ as opposed to the πιστοὶ.

⁴ It is difficult to give this passage either in German or English, as one must have a word, which would answer to the etymology and original meaning of the Greek word

passions, and is lost in earthly things, cannot be pure, i. e. sound. And a holy life? Hearken unto this, oh ye, who come to be baptized at the end of your days! We pray, that after baptism, ye may lead a holy life, but ye do everything in your power to depart hence without it. *Always to perceive, to think, and to do the things which are of God;*¹ for we pray for a godly mind, and a holy life, not merely during one, two, or three days, but during our whole lives,—and for the foundation of all godliness, the thinking the things of God; for the most ‘seek their own, not the things which are Jesus Christ’s.’ But how do we arrive at this? For besides prayer, we must perform our part, and what that part is, the following words declare to us: *and to abide in his law day and night.*² Wherefore I am ashamed for those, who scarcely appear once a-year in the church; for what excuse can they have, who are not only commanded to occupy themselves with the law day and night, but to abide therein, and who do not employ the least part of their lives in meditating upon his commandments, or in observing them. Behold the most beautiful of chains, and how aptly one link fitteth into the other! After a godly mind hath been prayed for, the way whereby to attain it is pointed out,—by doing the things which are of God. And how is this to be accomplished? by abiding in his law day and night. But how will men be persuaded to this? By the observance of God’s commandments; or rather the observance of God’s commandments cometh of

Phil. II. 21.

σωφρων, derived from σωσ and φρην upon which word Chrysostom plays. He says: και τι ποτε εστι σωφρονα λογισμον εχειν; το την υγ ιαν κεκτησθαι την κατα ψυχην.

¹ δια παντος τα αυτου νοειν, τα αυτου φρονειν, τα αυτου μελεταν.

² εν τω νομφ αυτου καταγινεσθαι ημερας και νυκτος.

a constant occupation with his law; as in the same manner the doing the things of God cometh of having a godly mind. For each of the things named bringeth forth the succeeding one, and reacteth upon the one foregoing. The Deacon then calleth out: *Let us pray God still more earnestly for them.*¹ For since the soul is wont to fall asleep, he awakeneth it, in order to petition for some other great and sublime thing. And what is that? *That he may deliver them from all evil and folly.*² We pray for them, that they enter not into temptation, and may be freed from all the snares of the Evil Spirit, as well in bodily as in spiritual things. Wherefore is subjoined: *from every sin of the devil and every besetting of the enemy.*³ Whereby are signified temptations and sins; for ‘sin doth so easily beset us.’ It threateneth us on all sides from before and from behind, and thus casteth us down; for after it hath been set forth what we must do on our part, viz. to abide in his law, to meditate upon his commandments, and observe them; we are again reminded, that this is not sufficient, if God be not with us, and help us; for ‘except the Lord build the house; their labour is but lost, that build it.’ And especially with regard to those, who are under the dominion of the Evil One. Ye know this well, ye, who are baptized.⁴ Remember the

Heb. XII. 1.

Ps.
CXXVII. 1.

¹ ἐτι ἐκτενεστέρον ἵπερ αὐτῶν παρακαλεσώμεν.

² ἵνα ἐξέλῃται αὐτοὺς ἀπο παντός πονηροῦ καὶ ἀτοποῦ πραγματος.

³ ἀπο παντός ἀμαρτηματος διαβολικῶν καὶ πάσης περιστάσεως τοῦ ἀντικειμένου.

⁴ ἵστε ταῦτα οἱ μεμνημένοι. The common expression on mention being made of those things, which were first communicated to Catechumens during and after baptism, such as the Creed, everything, which was connected with the celebration of the Sacraments, the Lord's Prayer, and some Psalms of the Church.

words,¹ by which ye have renounced his tyranny, when upon your bended knees, ye passed over to your King, and pronounced those sacred words, whereby we are taught to obey none but Him. He calleth himself the enemy, because he hath caused the enmity of God with man, of man with God, of ourselves one with another. Perhaps ye desire to hear how he worketh. If he find an ungodly mind or an impure soul, which neither remembereth the commandments of God, nor observeth them, then carrieth he it captive along with him. *That he may vouchsafe them in due time the washing of regeneration, the remission of sins, and a clothing incorruptible.*² What meaneth in due time? When they find themselves in a fit state of mind, when they approach with earnest desire, and with faith. *That he may bless their goings out and their comings in, their whole lives, their families, and their dependants.*³ They are here permitted, because they are weak, to pray for things temporal; for these were the rewards in the times of the Old Testament, in which nought was deemed so dreadful, as widowhood, the being childless, mourning for those who died before their time, famine, and adversity. For this cause they are allowed to spend awhile in prayers for the things of earth, in order to lead them by degrees further. Thus did Christ and Paul, when recalling to mind the blessings of the old times. Christ, when he saith: ‘Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth.’ And Paul, when he saith: ‘Honor thy father and mother,

Matt. V

¹ The form of words, by which the dominion of the Evil Spirit was renounced at Baptism.

² ἵνα καταξίωση αὐτοὺς ἐν καιρῷ εὐθετῶ της του λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, της ἀφεσεως των ἁμαρτιων, του ἐνδύματος της αφθαρσίας.

³ ἵνα εὐλογηση τας εἰσοδους αὐτων και τας ἐξοδους, παντα τον βιον αὐτων, τους οἰκους αὐτων και τας οἰκειτας.

Ephes. VI.
2.

that thou mayst live long on the earth.' *That he may multiply and bless their children, and having brought them to maturity, may instruct them in wisdom.*¹ Here likewise a request is made partly temporal and partly spiritual, they having as yet the minds of children. But that which followeth is purely spiritual. *That he may order all things before them for their good.*² For a journey, or a similar thing, is often before them, but it may conduce to no seeming good. Hereby they are taught to thank God for everything, in as far as everything falleth out to their good.

And after these things, the Catechumens having prostrated themselves on the ground during the above prayer, being now filled with confidence are commanded by the Deacon to arise, and are called upon to take a part in the prayer to God. The first petitions we make for them, the remainder we permit them to make themselves. And as we first say things to our children, and afterwards make them repeat the same, so now opening to them the door of prayer, we say: *Pray, ye catechumens, for the angels of peace.*³ In explanation of this petition Chrysostom says elsewhere: "Angels were at first divided after the number of the nations."⁴ They are not now divided after the number of the nations, but after the number of the faithful.⁵ For Christ saith: 'Take heed,

Hom. ad.
Coloss. III.

¹ τα τεκνα αὐτων ἵνα αὐξησας εὐλογησῃ καὶ εἰς μετρον ἡλικίας ἀγαγῶν σοφισῃ.

² Ἴνα κατευθυνη αὐτοῖς πάντα τα προκειμενα προς το συμφερον.

³ τον ἀγγελον της εἰρηνης αἰτησατε, οἱ κατηχουμενοι.

⁴ It was concluded, that every nation had its guardian angel, from Deut. XXXII. 8:—not as the passage is in the Hebrew, but as it is in the Alexandrian Translation; and the Greek Translators have evidently introduced here an idea foreign to the Text.

⁵ At all events, that which Chrysostom here says of

that ye despise not one of these little ones ; for I say unto you, that in heaven their angels do always behold the face of my father, which is in heaven.' Each one of the faithful hath his angel ; since from the beginning every godly man had his, as Jacob saith : ' The angel, which redeemed me from all evil.' If then we have our angels, let us be sober-minded, as in the presence of our teachers ; for an evil spirit is likewise present. Wherefore we pray for the angel of peace and for peace every where : for nothing is like unto peace." *Pray for peace in all your undertakings, peace for to-day, for all the days of your life, and for a Christian end. Commend yourselves to the living God and to his Christ.*¹ We then bid them bow down their heads, and in the blessing imparted to them by God we give them to understand, that their prayers have been heard. For it is not a man,² who giveth the blessing, but by his hand, and his voice we offer to the Heavenly King himself the heads of those present. Upon this all cry out, Amen.

Matthew.
XVIII. 10.

Genesis
XLVIII. 16.

II.—CONCERNING THE OPINIONS OF EUNOMIUS. Vid. p. 278.

Eunomius, the representative of very peculiar doctrinal notions, may be regarded as a forerunner of the Socinians. Although differing from them in some doctrines he was nearly allied to them in many respects, though not in

the relative bearings of the Christian to the foregoing Epoch, has a deep and right view for its foundation,—the improvement, the importance, and signification, which the human species has received through Christianity.

¹ εἰρηνικά ἔμιν πάντα τα προκειμένα, εἰρηνικὴν τὴν παρουσαν ἡμεραν, καὶ πασας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ζωῆς ἔμιν αἰτησασθε. Χριστιανὰ ἔμιν τα τελη. εαυτους τῷ ζῶντι θεῷ καὶ τῷ Χριστῷ αὐτοῦ παραθεσθε.

² The Bishop.

all; for the difference of their rise and progress, and of the age to which they belonged, must be taken into consideration. In them, as in Eunomius will be found a certain logical soberness without depth, a narrow-minded belief in a supernatural revelation deduced from reason only, and a mistaken aversion to every thing mystical, which was sufficient to do away with many of the deeply grounded doctrines of Christianity. Eunomius indeed, who, so far as relates to his independence of the court and his zeal in support of that which he held to be truth, deserves peculiar esteem,—was in many respects free from the influence of surrounding prejudices; and as an opponent of Asceticism and Mysticism, he stood more beyond the age in which he lived: for he places before all things the doctrinal part of religion,—as appears in a remarkable manner from the following passage, wherein he disputes the authority for certain forms of Baptism: “We maintain” he says, “that the mystery of Godliness is neither upholden in its power by the influence of holy names, nor by any peculiar rites of the church and mystic signs, but by the exactness of doctrine.”¹ But it does not follow thence, that the theological views, which Eunomius opposed to the prejudices of his age, were preferable or superior to them. They were a contracted logical Dogmatism opposed to Christian Platonism, a too fleshly and outwardly conceived Supernaturalism,² and, had they been able to gain

¹ ἡμεῖς ὅτε τῆ σεμνοτητι τῶν ὀνοματῶν, ὅτε ἔθων καὶ μυστικῶν συμβολῶν ἰδιότητι, κυρουσθαι φάμεν το τῆς εὐσεβείας μυστηρίων, τῆ δὲ τῶν δογματῶν ἀκριβείᾳ. Gregor. Nyss. Orat. X. c. Eunom. Ed. Paris. 1615. Tom. II. f. 276.

² As Gregory of Nyssa points out, in alluding to his views concerning the origin of language, in which he accuses him of *ἰουδαίσειν τῆ γνῶμη*. Vid. Gregor. Lib. C. Orat. XII.

the upper hand, would have led to a confined Rationalism, robbing Christianity of its very essence. It was not without reason, that the Fathers of the Church accused Eunomius of denying the Incomprehensibility of God. He went so far as to accuse his opponents, because they maintained the Incomprehensibility of the Divine Being,¹ of asserting, that nothing can be known of God, and that therefore Christianity was given to us in vain. He compared them to the Gnostics, who taught the doctrine of a hidden God, or to the enthusiastic Montanists, who rejected all consciousness of the Saviour. He even declared, that they did not deserve the name of Christians.²

We will here give some extracts from Eunomius, wherein he expresses his contracted doctrinal views: "For it followeth not, that if the mind of one man be obscured by his evil disposition, and therefore cannot attain to aught which either lieth at his feet, or hovereth above his head, that on that account other men may not arrive at a knowledge of the essence of things."³ Again: "The Lord would have called himself a 'door' in vain, were there none, whereby we can attain to a knowledge and beholding of the Father. In vain would he have

¹ He did not take the trouble to comprehend them rightly and made deductions similar to those of many polemical divines of this age.

² το μηδε προς την, των χριστιανων προσηγοριαν οικειως εχειν τους αγνωστων αποφαινομενους την θειαν φυσιν, αγνωστων δε και τον της γεννησεως τροπον.

³ Ουδε γαρ ει τις ο νους δια κακονοιαν εσκοτημενος, και δια τουτο μηδενος μητε των προσω, μητε [των υπερ κεφαλης εφικνοιτο] [μηδε] τοις αλλοις ανθρωποις εφικτην ειναι την των οντων ευρεσιν. Gregor. Nyss. l. c. f. 242. orat. 9. c. Eunom. Neander has translated this according to what appeared to him to be a necessary alteration. Compare f. 243. lit. C. The additions are enclosed by brackets.

called himself the 'way', had he made the same impracticable to those, who desired through him to attain to the Father. How could he be the 'light', without enlightening men, without enlightening the eye of the soul, so as to enable it to come to a knowledge of himself and of the still higher light?"¹ As if the Christian knowledge of God, the coming to the Father, and the being enlightened, in the biblical sense of the word, consisted in a comprehension of certain metaphysical results concerning the Godhead. The ordinary reproach made by the Eunomians to the adherents of the Established Church was: "Ye know not whom ye worship."² The Eunomian Philostorgius appears to have ascribed to Eunomius, as a special merit, the having overthrown the theory of the Incomprehensibility of God, which was maintained by Arius himself and prevailed among the greatest part of the Arians, as well as among the Theologians of the Catholick Church, who lived at this period. He accuses Arius of considering God to be a Being composed of parts, because he taught, that the real nature of God could be comprehended by no one, only in as far as the peculiar power of each individual enabled him to do so, and of saying concerning God: "that God was

¹ We must here take into consideration, that, according to the doctrine of Eunomius, the spirit of those, who had a real Christian perception, was to raise itself beyond the Son to a perception of the Higher Light, the Father himself: "Ὁ γὰρ νοῦς τῶν εἰς τὸν κυρίον πεπιστευκοτῶν πασαν αἰσθητὴν καὶ νοητὴν οὐσίαν ὑπερκυψας, οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τῆς τοῦ υἱοῦ γεννησεως ἰστασθαι πεφυκεν, ἐπεκεινα δὲ ταύτης ἰεται ποθῶ τῆς αἰωνίου ζωῆς ἐντυχῆν τῷ πρώτῳ χλιχομενος." fol. 246. And, Ἡ ματὴν ἀνὸς κυρίου ἑαυτοῦ ὠνομασεν θυραν, μηδενος οντος τον διοντος προς κατανοησιν και θεωριαν του πατρος, ματὴν βουλομενοις. Πως δ' ἀν εἶη φως μη φωτιζων τους ἀνθρωπους, μη καταλαμπων το της ψυχης ὄμμα προς κατανοησιν ἑαυτου τε και του ὑπερκειμενου φωτος. fol. 243.

² Οὐκ οἶδας ὁ σεβεις. Vid. Chrysost. Hom. de Incompreh. V.

neither a substance nor a reality, nor any of the other things which are named.”¹ These last words, which are borrowed from the Neoplatonic Philosophy, and from expressions taken from Plato’s explanations concerning the *αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν*, of which many of the Fathers of the Church made use, might indeed lead to a denial of the idea of a personal God, endued with consciousness, with which all the foundation of faith and hope for man would vanish, and might transform the idea of God into a lifeless abstract, an absolute nothing, such as was the *ὄν* of Plotinus;—although the Fathers of the Church, as may easily be shewn, in nowise understood it in this light. And thus we may suppose, that Eunomius, whose general views were inimical to the Platonic Philosophy, had arrived at his contracted idea of the Divine Being, as opposed to a comprehension of the Idea of God, which was too abstract and too little human.²

III.—CONCERNING THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN THE COUNTRY, AND THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION OF THE RURAL POPULATION. Vid. p. 288.

It was among the rude, ignorant, and oppressed peasantry, that Heathenism maintained itself longest; whence the heathen were called *pagani* in the latter half of the fourth Century. The heathen landed proprietors endeavored to preserve Heathenism among their peasantry by the means, which their power placed in their hands, and the Christian landed proprietors did not concern themselves about their education

¹ Μητε οὐσίαν αὐτὸν εἶναι, μηδε ὑποστασιν, μητε ἄλλο μηδεν ὧν ὀνομαζεται.

² Vid. Neander’s History of the Church. Lib. X. c. I. and Lib. II. c. 3.

and conversion. They only sought by extortion and oppression¹ to increase the revenues of their estates, and to add to the beauty of them; but they cared not for the spiritual state of their poor peasantry, or they even connived at the exercise of Heathenism by their dependants, because a tribute was paid them for the use of the Temples. This last fact appears from a passage of Zeno of Verona, in which he says, that they ignored, that sacrifices were still offered up in the Temples upon their estates, either to escape the censure of the clergy, or the infliction of civil fines, while they carried on law suits respecting their right of propriety in the Temples, in order to be able to draw the income arising from them.²

By the destruction of the Temples in the country, and by the suppression of Sacrifices, nothing was yet really gained for the conversion of men. Libanius was probably in the right, when he said to the Emperor Theodosius: “When they tell thee, that by this proceeding many have become Christians, thou must not forget to distinguish between appearance and reality. They are in no wise different from what they were before, and only say that they are changed. They assist indeed at what

¹ Chrysostom alludes to this Hom. in Matt. XLIII: “I know likewise many now, who say, as Pharaoh: I know nought of the Lord, and who make the lives of their dependants ‘bitter with hard bondage in mortar, and in brick.’ (Exod. I. 14.) How many never once remit them their work, though God commandeth them to ‘forbear threatening.’ (Ephes. XI. 9.) The judgment of God threateneth them, after their present life.” Compare with this Hom. in Matt. LXI.

² Sermo XV. ed. Ballerian. Pag. 120. “In prædiis vestris fumantia undique sola fana non nostis, quæ, si vera dicenda sunt, dissimulanda subtiliter custoditis. Jus templorum ne quis vobis eripiat, quotidie litigatis.”

taketh place publicly, and join the crowd of Christians; but when they have placed themselves in a posture, as if they were praying, they either invoke no one, or the Gods.”¹ Every thing dependeth upon working on the convictions of men by religious instruction, and to advance this object was the constant endeavour of Chrysostom. Wherefore he afterwards made a beautiful exhortation at Constantinople to the landed proprietors, wherein he called upon them to appoint spiritual pastors, and found churches upon their estates. We will here add his own words, which are in many respects very remarkable. Alluding first to the journeyings of the Apostles he says: “We ought to undertake similar journies; but wherefore do I speak of journies? Many have villages and lands, and take no care of them. They are eager to erect baths, to increase their rents, to construct courts and dwellings, but take no care that the souls of their dependants should be improved. If ye find thorns in a field, ye cut them down, burn them, and use every means to free the land from this nuisance; but when ye see the labourers themselves full of thorns, and extract them not, say do ye not fear Him, who will demand from you an account of these things? For ought not each believer to build a church, to appoint a teacher, to work together with him, and before every other thing, to see that all are Christians? Tell me, how is the peasant to become a Christian, if he see you thus neglectful of his salvation? ye can work no miracle and thereby convert him. Work for his conversion with the means in your power, by humanity, by your protection, by mildness, by soothing, and by all such things. Most men build market-places

Hom. in
 Act. Apost.
 XVIII.

¹ Orat. ‘Ἐπερ τῶν ἱερῶν. Tom. II. fol. 176.

and baths, but no one buildeth churches,—anything rather than a church. Therefore I exhort you, I beseech you, I ask you as a favour, nay, I prescribe it to you as a law, that no land-owner be without a church. Tell me not, that there is a church in the neighbourhood, that the erection of a new one will cost much, and that your income is small. If ye have aught to spend on the poor, employ it in the erection of a church. It is better employed in the latter, than in the former purpose. As when ye marry wives, or portion daughters, so be ye affected towards the Church. Give her a dower: so shall your estate be filled with blessings. Tell me, is it a little thing, that your wine-presses be blest,—a little thing, that God receive the first fruits of your land? ¹ The labourers till your ground; do ye till their souls. They bring to you the fruits of the earth; do ye guide them to heaven. He, who maketh the beginning, is the cause of all that followeth. Ye will then be the cause of your own peasantry and those of the neighbourhood being instructed in Christianity. The baths render the labourers effeminate, the taverns lead them into excess; yet ye erect such places for the sake of vanity. The markets and the fairs

¹The first fruits of the corn and grapes, or of the wine, were usually presented at the altar, as marks of gratitude for all the gifts of nature, and as a proof that the donors were ready to offer every thing they possessed to the service of God. Out of these gifts the elements for the Lord's Supper were taken. Vid. Apost. Can. II. Cod. Afr. c. 37. Concil. Trull. c. 28. We find in Chrysostom, in a discourse held on the Festival of the Ascension, mention made of the custom of sending to the Church a bundle of ears of corn, and a blessing having been pronounced over them, the whole field was considered to be blessed. Savil. Tom. V. f. 597: “Ὅπερ γινεται ἐπι των πεδιων των σταχυηφορων, ὀλιγους τις σταχνας λαβων και μικρον δραγμα ποιησας και προσενεγκων τῷ θεῷ, διὰ του μικρου πασαν την ἀρουραν εὐλογει.”

render them bold and rude. Here, however, all is different. *How glorious a sight to behold the Pastor approach, after the manner of Abraham, his hairs grey, his loins girded, digging the ground and working with his own hands!* What land so beautiful as his! Debauchery and drunkenness are banished thence, — vanity quenched. Benevolence shineth forth the brighter on account of the simplicity, by which it is surrounded. How sweet it is to betread the house of God, when we know that we ourselves have built it, to lay down upon our beds, and after the refreshment of our bodies, to take a part in the Evening and Morning Hymns,¹ to have the priest a guest at our table, to go about and converse with him, to receive his blessing, and to see others resort hither from the neighbouring villages. Let such be the walls and defence of your field. Let it smell as a ‘field, which the Lord hath blessed.’ If the country be so beautiful on account of its repose, and freedom from care, what will it not be when a Church shall be added thereunto? The land which hath a Church is like unto the Paradise of God. There is neither noise, nor discord,² nor strife, nor heresies.³ We behold all living in

Gen.
XXVII. 27.

¹ In the morning was sung Psalm LXIII.: “O God, thou art my God; early will I seek thee.” ψαλμος ἑωθινος, and in the twilight of evening, Psalm CXLI.: “Lord, I call upon thee, haste thee unto me.” ψαλμος ἐπιλυχνιος or λυχνικος, ad incensum lucernæ. Vid. Chrysost. Hom. in Psalm CXL. and Constitut. Apostol. Lib. II. c. 59.

² It was the office of Bishops and Presbyters to adjust differences among their flocks, and they were thereby enabled to promote unity and peace.

³ It was among the rude and ignorant population of the country, that Heretics, who by the Imperial laws were driven from the cities, could, if unopposed by the watchfulness of the clergy, most easily spread themselves, and most readily find an opening.

friendship one with another, and joined together by the same faith. Such rest leadeth you to wisdom, and when ye are thus prepared by meditation, the Priest will easily heal you. For, the things which we say here, are driven from your minds by the noise of the Forum; but the things, which ye hear there, will remain fixed in your souls. By means of a Pastor ye will become quite different beings in the country. He will watch over the laborers by his presence and by his influence. And say, what will be the expense? Raise at first a small house for a Church. Your successor will build a Porch, the succeeding owner will add something else, and the whole will be ascribed to you. Exhort one another, and contend together to this end. Now indeed ye erect buildings, where ye may keep your straw, corn, and all such things; but ye care not, whether there be a place wherein the fruits of souls may be gathered. Your people must go many miles to reach a Church. How good a thing it is, for the Priest in all stillness daily to enter the church, draw near to God, and pray for the whole village and its possessor! Is it a little thing, that *thy name is always mentioned in the Church-Prayer at the celebration of the Holy Supper?*¹ And how much gain thou derivest hence in all other matters! Perchance a great man liveth in the neighbourhood, and his stewards mention to him, that thou hast a Church and a Priest.² Such a one would not

¹ Το και ἐν ταῖς ἁγίαις ἀναφοραῖς ἀεὶ το ὄνομα σου ἐγκεισθαι.

² According to one reading λεγειν. According to another, ἔχειν, which does not appear to me to give so appropriate a meaning, it would be: "and he hath stewards." One of those great men, who possessed estates in all parts of the empire, has one in the neighbourhood. When he visits the estate, he hears from his steward, that his neighbour, whom

condescend to visit so lowly a person as thyself, but perhaps he will invite the Priest to his table.¹ Thy village will then be freed from all suspicion,—no one will be accused of homicide or theft; no one will be suspected of any such things. If sickness come, or death draw nigh, thy people will have consolation. The friendships, which will be formed among those who visit each other, will not be common friendships; and their meetings will cause greater joy, than those at the fairs. Even the landowner gaineth increased respect through the Priest. Where God is honored, nothing bad can come; as where he is not honored, there can be nothing good. There will also be an increased confidence towards God and men. I exhort you not to undertake this work negligently, but with zeal. Make ready a fortress against the power of Satan,—for such is the Church. Hence let the hands hasten to their work: first let them be stretched forth in prayer, and then proceed to work. So shall they have strength. Look not to the Church returning you an income. Ye will effect nothing, unless ye think, that it will return you an income greater than the rest of your estate.

he had so much despised on account of his low condition, has a church and a priest.

¹ This is the only passage which I have met with, wherein Chrysostom seeks to urge his precepts upon Utilitarian grounds, and not solely upon the *pure disinterested love of God*. I doubt not, that sometimes he found himself obliged as he represents St. Paul to have been (Vid. p. 303. of this Vol.), to lower himself to the standard of those, whom he addressed. I felt inclined to have erased this extract, so opposed to the general views of Chrysostom; but since Dr. Neander has inserted it, since it admits of the explanation I have given it, and since it likewise affords a rather curious historical picture of the state of society in the Roman Empire during those times, I merely desire to qualify it by the foregoing observations.—I. C. S.

Can there be a greater gain, than to gather souls into the barns of heaven? Alas, that ye know not how great a thing it is to win souls! Hear what Christ saith to Peter: ‘If thou love me, feed my lambs.’ If God did not hold the salvation of one soul so precious, the ruin of one would not have excited so much his wrath. Knowing then these things, let us begin this spiritual work. Let any one call upon me, and we will together use our utmost exertion. If there be three owners to one estate, let them contribute jointly. If there be only one, let him persuade his neighbours to assist.” Chrysostom here represents the rural pastors, as men of patriarchal dignity and simplicity, who tilled their own land, and yet were able to instruct the peasantry in the concerns of religion. In like manner he represents the Syrian rural pastors. Yet it was the unfortunate consequence of a want of proper preparation for the ecclesiastical profession, and of a scientific education¹ which frequently rendered the rural clergy unable to instruct their congregations. Hence divine worship became too mechanical, and the general extension of Christian knowledge was thereby checked,—this last being the grand object of the Christian Church, which is the only seminary, which embraces all classes of men without distinction. In one of his discourses, held at Constantinople, Chrysostom expresses a wish, that he had so far instructed his congregation in that city, that he might be able to leave it and preach the Gospel in the country; “for,” said he, “how much instruc-

Jol n XXI.
15.

Matt.
XVIII. 6.

See P. 175.

Hom. ad
Coloss. IX.

¹ According to a law passed A. D. 393, by which the clergy of every village-church were only to be chosen from the inhabitants of the village, this must in most cases have been entirely wanting.

tion do ye think your brethren and *their teachers* in the country need?"¹ The frequent visitations, which were made by pious Bishops in their Dioceses, in which they were wont to be accompanied by the clergy and laity of each place,² and which gave them an opportunity of coming in nearer contact with the latter, moreover, the Festivals to the memory of Martyrs interred in the country, to which the Bishops came from the city to the villages, accompanied by a numerous attendance, tended to supply this defect. Concerning this last, we will extract a beautiful passage of Chrysostom from one of his discourses, which he held at Antioch, on the occasion of Bishop Flavian's attendance at a Martyr-festival in the country: "Yesterday was a Martyr-festival, and to-day is again a Martyr-festival, not with us, but in the country, or rather with us likewise. For the city and the country in earthly concerns differ from each other; but the concerns of religion have rendered them common, and united them one with the other. I look not to their barbarous tongue,³ but to the communion of faith. What availeth similitude of language, when minds are divided? What harmeth the diversity of language, when faith uniteth together? In this respect the country is not inferior to the city, since religion, the fountain of all good, imparteth to them equal honor. Therefore our Lord tarried not only in cities, and forsook the villages, but he 'went about all the cities and villages preaching the Gospel, and healing every sickness and every

Tom. II. f.
651.

¹ ποσης οϊεσθε διδασκαλιας δεισθαι τους υμετερους αδελφους τους επι των αγρων και τους εκεινων διδασκαλους.

² Vid. Apolog. contra Arian. op. ed. Benedict. Tom. I. P. I. f. 191.

³ Greek was spoken in the city, and Syriac in the country.

Matt. IV.
24, and IX.
35.

disease.' After his example our common Shepherd and Teacher hath forsaken us and departed to them; for he is gone to our brethren. And as when the Festival of the Maccabees was celebrated here, all the country flocked into the city; so now, that a Martyr-festival is celebrated there, the whole city ought to flock into the country. On this account, God not only planted Martyrs in the cities, but likewise in the villages, in order that the celebration of their Festivals might give us an urgent occasion to hold intercourse one with another; and he hath even given more to the villages than to the cities; for 'he giveth more abundant honor to that part which lacketh.' For the country is our weaker member, wherefore it enjoyeth a greater care. For those, who dwell in cities, have constant instruction; but *those, who dwell in the country, receive not the same so richly.* Thus hath God supplied their want of teachers by the greater number of Martyrs, and hath ordained, that more should be interred among them, than with us. They hear not constantly the tongue of the teacher, but they hear the more mighty voice of the Martyr calling to them from the tomb."

I Cor. XII.
24.

E R R A T A.

<i>Page.</i>	<i>Line.</i>	<i>For.</i>	<i>Read.</i>
1.	Note 4.	Statuis.	Statuis.
2.	Note 2.	nourish it	nourish it"
5.	23.	Among the holy	for the Holy Ministry.
—	Note 1.	<i>ευδοκιμουντος</i>	<i>ευδοκιμουντος</i>
24.	Note 1.	et Liban.	and Liban.
33.	3.	I know	' I know
—	19.	: " Behold	: Behold
36.	Note 1.	III. p. 75.	III. ep. 75.
43.	Marg. Ref.	Ps. XXIV. 16.	Ps. XXV. 16.
—	22.	disquieted.	disquieted
—	26	seen'	seen"
46.	33.	build it'	build it"
—	34.	Daphne	Daphne. ¹
48.	1.	world. ¹	world.
—	35.	man;" and	man." And
50.	20.	aid'	aid
93.	Note	<i>πλαγχνια</i>	<i>εϋσπλαγχνια</i>
100.	203	<i>ευπροσηγορον</i> ¹	<i>ευπροσηγορον</i>
—	204.	<i>Του</i>	<i>Του</i>
102.	247.	<i>πνευματος</i> ;	<i>πνευματος</i> '
—	268.	<i>νους</i> ;	<i>νους</i> '
103.	2.	effected	affected
—	23.	trees.	trees."
104.	Note 1.	<i>ακωμεν</i>	<i>ασκωμεν</i>
107.	Note 1.	<i>circumstantiam</i>	<i>circumstantium.</i>
111.	13.	wearied	wearied
127.	8.	property	poverty
156.	28.	Hellebichuis	Hellebichius.
168.	Note 1.	<i>ιποτροφοι</i>	<i>ιποτροφοι</i>
184.	Note 1.	<i>γυμνασιάρχους</i>	<i>γυμνασιάρχους</i>
213.	Note 1.	<i>εν τω</i>	<i>εν τω</i>
224.	Note 1.	<i>προσχωμεν</i>	<i>προσχωμεν.</i>
241.	1.	<i>Θυ</i>	<i>Ου</i>
282.	8.	<i>ωστε λεγει θμεν</i>	<i>ωστε λεγει μεν</i>
289.	Note	by the power of so sub- lime a sight	in such vastness of power
—	—	lay hold of	lay hold of it,
—	—	,that heavenly spectacle	,that divine autho- rity
344.	13.	these parts	they
352.	Note 1. 19. 20.	omit these two lines in the 1st line.	entirely except 'flock'
374.	Note 1.	as has been observed	as is observed
431.	5.	dependeth	depends.

MARGINAL REFERENCES OMITTED.

<i>Page.</i>	<i>Line.</i>	<i>Marginal References Omitted.</i>
9.	20.	Theodor. Eccles. Hist. Lib. II. Cap. XXXI.
10.	10.	Epiphan. in Hæres. Semiarian. Cap. XXIX.
11.	14.	Hom. in Sanct. Melet. Tom. II. f. 519—520.
30.	33.	Adv. Oppug. Vit. Monast. Lib. II. Tom. I. f. 62.
31.	5.	Idem. f. 66.
—	8.	Idem. f. 69.
—	18.	Idem. f. 70.
—	26.	Idem. f. 71.
32.	5.	Idem. f. 71.
—	15.	Adv. oppugn. Vit. Monast. Lib. I. f. 55.
—	21.	Adv. oppugn. Vit. Monast. Lib. III. f. 81.
—	32.	Exod XIII. 8.
36.	7.	Adv. oppugn. Vit. Monast. Lib. III. f. 91.
—	10.	Idem. f. 101.
37.	11.	Idem. f. 97.
38.	5.	De Compar. Reg. et Monast. Tom. I. f. 118.
39.	25.	Lib ad Stagyr. I. Tom. I. f. 156.
42.	3.	Idem. f. 179.
43.	12.	Lib ad Stagyr. III. f. 226.
—	36.	Tract. ad Viduam Jun. Tom. I. f. 341.
44.	13.	Idem. f. 343.
—	26.	Idem. f. 344.
45.	28.	Lib. de Virgin. Tom. I. f. 269.
46.	26.	Idem. f. 287.
—	38.	Idem. f. 335.
47.	28.	Matt. XXV. 46.
48.	28.	Lib. in S. Babyl. Tom. II. f. 555.
55.	12.	Idem. f. 549.
—	24.	Idem. f. 550.
70.	28.	Lib. de Sacerd. IV. f. 408.
71.	13.	Idem. f. 410.
—	17.	II. Cor. XI. 6.
—	19.	Lib. de Sacerd. f. 410.
73.	20.	Lib. de Sacerd. V. f. 420.
77.	2.	Lib. de Sacerd. III. f. 387.

We regret that the *Spiritus Asperi* and *Lenes* and the *Iotas Subscripta*, are in some places wanting, and that in others they have been erroneously placed.

Amir
6

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